HISTORY, PROPHECY

AND

THE MONUMENTS

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TO THE DOWNFALL OF SAMARIA

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PREFACE

THE work, of which the first volume is herewith given to the public, has been undertaken primarily in the interest of the study of the Old Testament. Its aim is to help those into whose hands it may fall to apprehend in its true relations the history of that ancient people through whom the world has gained most of its heritage of moral and spiritual light and power. It is a conviction of the writer that the vagueness and incertitude, and consequent indifference, with which the history and literature of Israel are regarded by the mass of intelligent people, are in great part due to the one-sidedness and false perspective of the picture which for one reason or another they have drawn for themselves. It is certain, at least, that the Hebrews have been gravely misapprehended because their vast political, social, moral, and religious environment has been so much ignored. They have been practically made a measure for themselves in all that concerns national characteristics, in all that has to do with culture and material power and the elements of civic life. Their place in time and order of development among the kindred peoples has been equally misconceived. In the attempt to account for their phenomenal history, full play has rightly been given to wonder and admiration, while little attention has been paid to their antecedents, their racial affinities, and those vital interrelations with the contemporary peoples which necessarily determined their destiny. They become more real, more human, more interesting, and therefore morally more helpful to us, the more we regard them in the light of their historical attributes and achievements, as the children of their own ancestry and

their own times. The first essentials of this clearness and fulness of conception are an acquaintance with that whole region of Western Asia whose physical features so largely conditioned the fortunes of the Hebrews. With this must be united a knowledge of those peoples with whom they were ethnically associated, and whose political and social characteristics they shared, as well as of the national movements in which they voluntarily or involuntarily took part, and by which they were made and unmade as a nation. To study the history of the Hebrews in its right relations and due proportions is not to depreciate their unique divine vocation; it is rather to exalt it by making it more intelligible and reasonable, by bringing it better within the range of our vision and nearer to our sympathies.

Next to the Biblical interest of the story, and in reality as a part of it according to the true Biblical conception, comes the importance of the subject for general history. That the Northern Semites gave the world its most influential religion and also the beginnings of its practical science, as well as the first successful examples of imperial government, are facts not seriously gainsaid. It might therefore be reasonably supposed that the genius and the vicissitudes of the race and the peoples which rendered these services to humanity would be not merely the theme of learned exposition, but a recognized essential of a liberal education. The remoteness of many of the events and of their scenes from our modern and Western associations should be only an additional motive to interest and inquiry, on the ground of the admitted and much lamented narrowness and one-sided positiveness of our modern culture. Moreover, at least the outlines of an intelligible history of the ancient Semites during most of their activity upon the world's arena may already be drawn; and the recovery of the materials for closing the gaps that still exist in the record is the most fascinating and successful pursuit in which scholars in any province of historical research are at present engaged. The discoveries that are going on in these very years are bringing before us the real "youth-time of the world," as it was lived through in days antedating the days of Homer by as long an interval as that which separates us from the oldest monuments of Greece.

They are showing that historical science also has new worlds to reveal; and its newest world is what we call the old.

For the general neglect of these matters the representatives of genuine Semitic scholarship are perhaps in some degree responsible. The field is large and not everywhere thoroughly worked; and the actual permanent results of long-continued labour are not made generally known, because specialists as a rule do not take time to popularize their subjects. Yet it is evident that only by specialists can such a business be properly done. It is unnecessary to particularize the various classes of writers to whom the work of popular instruction has been left. It is sufficient to say that while competent authorities have influenced greatly the accessible literature of Oriental history and civilization, their contributions have been brought before the general public for the most part indirectly, and in such a fashion that it is difficult for the ordinary reader to distinguish the important from the unimportant, and conjecture or hypothesis from ascertained fact. Moreover, there has been little effort made in any quarter to bring into organic connection the historical knowledge of the ancient past that has been gained in recent times.

The present work seeks to tell as simply as possible the story of the ancient Semitic peoples, including as the dominating theme the fortunes of Israel. If the recital turns out to be virtually a history of a well-defined portion of Western Asia in the olden times, the circumstance will, I trust, be found to be more than a coincidence. The treatment of the subject has been thrown into a form convenient for ready use, and the whole arranged as a manual suitable for classes in colleges, as well as for private students. In all matters, except those connected with Egyptian history, I have drawn directly from original sources; and the lack of extended narration and discussion in that region will not, I hope, be accounted a serious defect, when it appears how insignificant was the influence of the Egyptians upon Israel in any matter of vital moment, and how infrequently the two nations came nearer to each other than just within speaking distance. On the other hand, a space relatively large has been given to the history of Babylonia, on account of its influence upon the fortunes of the Western lands,

including finally the destiny of Israel. It is gratifying to find that the positions which I have maintained as to the extent and character of the earliest Semitic empire of North Babylonia, are supported by the conclusions of Hilprecht in Part I of his work on Old Babylonian Inscriptions. This epoch-making volume appeared after the principal portion of the present work was written; but I have been able to use its new and striking facts in connection with the interesting and important question of the range of Semitic government and civilization in the more immediate neighbourhood of the central district.

As a rule no allusion has been made in the text to sources of information for facts known to educated people generally, or for opinions that require no special demonstration. Otherwise I have aimed to give full and explicit references.

The second and concluding volume will embrace Book VII, "Hebrews, Egyptians, and Assyrians," Book VIII, "Hebrews and Chaldæans," Book IX, "Hebrews and Persians." It will, I trust, not be long delayed. I shall be grateful to reviewers who shall point out any of the inevitable errors and defects of the work. Even anonymous strictures will be welcomed if they do not consist wholly of personalities or generalities.

J. F. McCURDY.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following are the abbreviations used in Vol. I which are not self-explanatory: —

AD. = G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 3d ed., 1876.

AN. = The great inscription of Asshurnāṣirpal, in I R. 17–26.

ATU. = *Das Alte Testament, in Verbindung with Professor Baethgen, Professor Guthe, etc., übersetzt von E. Kautzsch*, 1892–1894.

Bah. Chr. = *The Babylonian Chronicle*, published in ZA. III, p. 148, and in PSBA., 1889, p. 131.

BAG. = Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, 1886, 1888.

Br. M. = British Museum.

C^{b}. = The second Assyrian "Eponym Canon," in Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2d ed., 1878, p. 92–94.

FM. = G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, 3 vols., New York, 1881.

GA. = Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Vol. I, 1884.

GBA. = Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1888 ; also = Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1892.

GH. = Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 1888, 1892.

GVI. = Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, 1887, 1888.

Intr. = Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 1891.

K. = *Kouyunjik*, *i.e.* the list of tablets in the British Museum found in that locality.

KAT. = Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2d ed., 1883.

KB. = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, edited by Schrader, Vols. I–III, 1889–1892.

KGF. = Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, 1878.

Lay. = Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, 1851.

Mon. = Monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II, in III R. 7, 8.

Obel. = Obelisk inscription of Shalmaneser II, in Lay. 87–98.

OBT. I = Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. I, Part I, 1893.

OT. = Old Testament.

PAOS. = *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.*

Par. = Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 1881.

PSBA. = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*

R. (I, II, III, IV, V) = *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I–V, 1861–1891; issued under the auspices of Sir Henry Rawlinson and edited by Norris, Smith, and Pinches; IV R^2. = Vol. IV, 2d ed.

RP. = *Records of the Past*; RP^2. = 2d edition of the same.

S^b. = The second Syllabary in Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 53–64.

ST. = Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, 2 vols., 1889.

SV. = Hommel, *Semitische Völker und Sprachen*, Vol. I, 1883.

Synchr. Hist. = Texts giving a "synchronistic history" of Assyria and Babylonia, in II R. 66 with III R. 4, and in UAG. p. 148–152.

TP. = Inscription of Tiglathpileser I, in I R. 9–16.

TSBA. = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*

UAG. = Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 1889.

ZA. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

ZATW. = *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

Book I

THE NORTHERN SEMITES

CHAPTER I

THE SEMITES IN HISTORY

§ 1. The study of History is chiefly valuable for its moral significance and influence. It does indeed aid our intellectual development as no other study can. It fixes our attention upon the world of men and human society, widens our horizon of sympathetic observation, varies indefinitely the subjects of our reflection, and perpetually changes our point of view. It thus corrects narrow inductions, rectifies hasty judgments, and steadies and sobers the practical imagination for the affairs of life. But it does a greater and more potent work in helping to excite the emotions and move the will; for through the understanding it reaches and stirs up to activity the forces and agencies that build up character, that indicate duty, and that prompt to action. No man can study aright the history of the past without a purification of the inner being and an energizing of the active powers. The drama of the present life is indeed being enacted continually before our eyes, and no one who has senses to perceive or a heart to feel can fail to follow its progress or to catch its most obvious lessons. But when we are admitted to witness the struggles and fates of the past history of mankind; when the curtain is raised which ignorance

or indifference or preoccupation has drawn over the sufferings and achievements of our fellows in other times, while the figures that throng the far-reaching stage are nations and races and titanic men, and the eternal lessons are enforced with endless variations of typical experience and exemplary fate, the spectator must be moved to thought and regard for great human interests with something of the urgency of those elemental moral forces that have made the tragedy of the world's history so pathetic and so sublime. For the plainest as well as the most valuable teaching of the long story is that certain ideas, incarnated in national and personal aspiration and effort, have enduring vitality and indestructible force; and that the men whose struggles and triumphs have brought these ideas into vogue are the world's greatest heroes and benefactors. And in every nation of the earth, heathen or Christian, barbarous or civilized, the vindication and practical enforcement of these ideas is, and always must be, a living issue, and therefore our interest in the events and movements that have made them for us the order of the day can never cease or languish.

§ 2. Thus something more than mere entertainment or hero-worship is the end of the study of History. What we, "upon whom the ends of the ages have come," most highly prize as the chief of our moral gains is truth and freedom. The one comes by the other, for it is the truth that makes us free; and when we consider the ways in which these saving blessings have come to us as our heritage from the past, we are led by a twofold path to an outlook broader than the arena of merely human action, vaster than "the great globe itself, yea, all which it inherit." When we see how "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns," we conclude with the profoundest writer of the Old Testament that "it is a Spirit in man, and the inbreathing of an Almighty One, that gives him understanding." The other line of development, which has regard to the external conditions of the evolu-

tion of light and liberty, points with equal directness to an extra-human Providence that prepares, controls, and combines the factors of history, and makes all things converge to and subserve the dominion of the truth that uplifts and saves humanity.

§ 3. This then is the strongest ground upon which the study of History, with its auxiliary, the study of Languages, can be based and defended. The widening of our view, and the liberalizing of our sympathies, which this century has brought to us, especially through the teachings of the Science of Language, have affected our notions of the scope and value of historical study as well as of literature. Peter's vision has been realized for the commonwealth of human thought and aspiration, and the old invidious and illiberal distinctions have been abolished. We have now learned that any language and any literature may rightly be termed "classical" which helps us to large and inspiring views of God and man and duty, by bringing to us great and profound thoughts conceived and uttered in any age of the world. We have also learned, from Comparative Philology, of the kinship of scattered races, and have gained clearer views of the community of human need and human endeavour. Thus ancient as well as modern history has become more of a humanizing study, worthy of a high place among the "humanities," which the new ideals of education have superadded to the narrow categories of the old. We are also learning, though more slowly, that the most baseless of all traditional distinctions is that which divides History into "sacred and secular," or more wrongly still, into "sacred and profane." Our Scriptures themselves, in whose honour the distinction is made, make no such discrimination. Nay, they scout the idea of such a schism as dishonouring to God. The nations of the world are not simply to be brought to God, they actually are his from the beginning — his institutions, his care, his agents. The Assyrians are the instruments of his will (Isa. x. 5); he not only "brought

up Israel out of the land of Egypt," but also "the Philistines from Caphtor and the Aramæans from Kir" (Amos ix. 7).[1] The world is ruled by the ideas of God. History, which is but the vindication and realization of his thoughts through the men of his choice, proves these ideas to be both irrepressible and invincible, and points out the way to make them victorious in these latter-day countries and communities, and so to help on the redemption of humanity from the errors and sorrows that come from the denial of his power and Godhead.

§ 4. These general reflections upon the purport and aim of History indicate sufficiently well the function of the historian. Since each leading type of human civilization has contributed its quota to the advancement of the world in knowledge and power, the historian has to show in his special field how the exponents of world-moving ideas, whether races, communities, or individuals, came to be in a position to give effect to their convictions. He must, in other words, set forth the antecedents of these factors of History, the elements and quality of their culture, the character of their religion, their political institutions, their outlook and bearing towards their larger human environment. In dealing, for example, with a nation that has played a large part in the development of mankind, it is incumbent upon him to describe its settlement and early progress as a distinct community, its political and social development, its interaction with other nations or races, its peculiar type of worship and thought, its moral as well as intellectual characteristics, and, above all, the occasions and impulses by which it came to attain to new conceptions of truth or clearer apprehensions of duty.

[1] It is noteworthy, as illustrating the large-minded fashion in which the Hebrew Prophets looked at the foreign nations, that the peoples here referred to — Philistines, Aramæans, and Assyrians — were precisely those who had, up to the times of the respective authors, most seriously influenced the destiny of Israel.

§ 5. Our intellectual and moral gains from the past are, broadly speaking, the resultant of two great deposits of thought and sentiment, the one the gift of the Aryan, the other a boon from the Semitic race. To the former we owe, again speaking generally, most of our mental and political acquisitions; to the latter, the principal elements of our moral and spiritual heritage. The one has come to know much of the truth about man as an intellectual and social being, his capacity for thought and action, his relation to the outside world, and the phenomena and processes of the material universe. The other has learned and taught us the highest conceptions of man's spiritual nature, its illimitable possibilities, and its primary needs, and has brought near to us the idea of a personal God, who is at once the inspiration of our deepest yearnings and the incarnation of our highest ideals. The one has analyzed and exhibited man; the other has apprehended and commended God. The one demonstrates the reign of physical, the other makes us feel the urgency of moral law. Aryan culture includes science, art, philosophy, epic and dramatic poetry, and philosophic history. Semitic culture has little of these to show; it can boast an unequalled lyric and gnomic poetry, but in everything else it is subordinate, imitative, or entirely uncreative. The Aryan genius ranges far and wide, observes, compares, classifies, generalizes, both in the world of matter and of spirit. The Semitic genius is narrow and intense; it confines itself to what is close at hand, and of direct practical moment. Beyond this region it needs an impulse from without to awaken its innate energy and capacities. It is normally stationary and unadventurous, while the Aryan genius is enterprising and progressive. Yet when the Semitic mind is aroused, it can compete with, or even outstrip, its rival in the education of humanity. It has done as much for the world through its intuitions and postulates as the Aryan mind has achieved through reflection and demonstration.

§ 6. But the student of History will find it more instructive to consider the results of the co-operation of the diverse mental and moral forces of these two world-compelling races. The business of civilizing and saving the world, as far as the merely human factors are concerned, has been carried on through the transfer of moral and spiritual ideas and the arts of civilized life from the one race to the other. In nearly everything vital to human well-being the Semites were the founders or forerunners. Centuries, perhaps millenniums, before any branch of the Aryan race had emerged from primitive rudeness, the Semitic Babylonians were in possession of the rudiments of the practical and useful arts and sciences. Through the progress of conquest westward, and still more through adventures of trade, the most important of these attainments were indirectly brought to the receptive and progressive Aryans of the Mediterranean coast-lands and islands, with the result that they were developed and applied far beyond the range to which they were ever extended in the region of their origination. Again, while it is undeniable that the faculty of organization on a large scale must be denied to the political genius of the Semitic race, it is also true that the first example given to the world of an extensive stable system of government was supplied by the Semites of Assyria, and that this furnished to the Aryan Persians the model for the empire of Cyrus and Darius, which in its turn was imitated in the Macedonian and Roman world-subduing and world-restraining monarchies. Thus that type of government was furnished by which alone, during our long semi-barbaric mundane era, society could be kept together and security afforded against all rapine and oppression, except, indeed, those of the rulers themselves. Here again we see the characteristic limitation of Semitism. The state founded by the Semites did not pass beyond the stage of military guardianship when it left the hands of its devisers. The freer forms of self-governing commu-

nities were wrought out by the political genius of the Aryans.

§ 7. But the greatest boon which any race or people ever conferred upon humanity, was that of religious truth and freedom, and this was the gift of the Hebrews of Palestine. Yet not by them as a race has it been or is it now being converted to the uses of the world. While the unique national career and institutions of Israel fitted that single people to be the depositaries of saving truth and knowledge, it was the civilizing genius of one branch of the Aryan race and the political supremacy of another, which prepared the wider and deeper channels through which the divinely conferred endowment was conveyed to the kindreds and peoples of mankind. And when the worship of Jehovah, established among one people of the earth in place of the discarded national and local divinities, had been bereft of its potency and vitality; and when the revelation, renewed and transfigured before the eyes of men in an image of divine self-sacrifice, had failed of general recognition and adoption in the Messiah's own community, it was at length turned over to the Gentile Aryans, who welcomed it and gave it a currency which has outrun the march of civilization, overstepped all geographical and political boundaries, and overleaped all social and prescriptive barriers.

§ 8. Yet the Apostle to the Gentiles was a Semite of the Semites; and he with his helpers, in breaking through the limitations of Judaism, were but striving after the ideal of universal regeneration set before them by the divine Founder of the one religion of humanity, himself a Semite. Incontestably the best thoughts and principles — the most profound, the most propulsive, the most potential — that men have ever cherished, have been conceived and elaborated in Semitic minds. Nay, more: the world has not yet fathomed the depths of these thoughts, nor fully tested the applicability of these principles to the social and personal needs of any generation of men. It

is, moreover, the obvious truth that after the impulse given by the Oriental pioneers of Christianity had exhausted itself, the Western champions of the faith, through the Aryan tendency to speculation, through lack of sure moral insight and sympathy, as well as through ignorance of Semitic modes of thought and expression, allowed the spirit and essence of the saving truth to evaporate in metaphysical subtleties, from whose beclouding and distracting influence we are only in the present age beginning to free ourselves, as we are learning to read aright the words of Jesus and Paul and John with the newly awakened historical sense.

§ 9. To understand anything, we must know its history. We shall misjudge all institutions, and fail to appreciate all commanding ideas, unless we learn with approximate accuracy how they were founded, how they were evolved in the thoughts, and how they were wrought out in the lives of men. In tracing the development of our intellectual and spiritual inheritance from the Semites, we must make many necessary distinctions. We must first and fundamentally distinguish between Northern and Southern Semites (§ 17 ff.); for the rôle of the latter, important as it has been in the mental and religious development as well as in the political fortunes of the Eastern world, was played long after the decisive contribution had been made by the former to the controlling forces in human society. And when we have isolated the Northern Semites, and observed their geographical distribution and the historical development of their several divisions, we have again to single out one small subdivision from all others, and devote special attention to its fortunes and achievements. This we have to do, unless we violate all the canons of historical proportion; for in the history of the petty Hebrew community we have the unique phenomenon presented to us of one of the most feeble of all peoples revolutionizing the beliefs and customs of the world, and what is more wonderful still,

contributing most generously and signally to these transforming and renovating influences in proportion as its own political autonomy approached extinction. Accordingly, in treating of the doings and the influence of the Semitic race, we must view their history in long perspective; we must keep in a relatively subordinate place the parts, important as these undoubtedly were, played by some of the kindred communities in political progress, in commercial enterprise, and in the arts of civilized life, and, from the standpoint of permanent results, give the central and controlling place to the annals and achievements of Israel. As we look back in the light of these later ages upon the whole evolution of Semitic life and thought, we feel that we can do justice to the various factors and products of that history only by acknowledging the supremacy of the moral order in human affairs, and vindicating for the people of ancient Palestine the place which Providence has assigned them as the principal agents in securing for it recognition and validity among the nations of the earth.

§ 10. Yet we cannot disassociate from the history of Israel the influence of the surrounding and especially that of the allied communities. Unequalled as was the service rendered by Israel to mankind, and altogether unique as was its inner moral and spiritual history, we find that its social and political relations were largely determined by its place and function as a member of a larger aggregation of peoples. Indeed, when we regard the rôle assigned by Providence to the Semitic race in the ancient world, it seems to us to be a part of this very significance attaching to the mission of the Hebrews that it belonged to that race and shared its leading mental and moral characteristics. Being permitted for thousands of years to develop their institutions and work their will in a well-defined and spacious region with little interruption from any outside race, it was made possible for these Northern Semites to elaborate and perfect the products of their

peculiar genius in the political, social, moral, and religious spheres. No other race of men has had a place, or scope, or term of duration so favourable for the evolution of its inherent capacities. Now the fortunes of the Hebrews being involved in the long and constant action and interaction of the Semitic communities, it is manifestly the duty of the historian to duly subordinate secondary motives and issues to those which are admitted to be primary, and at the same time to carefully indicate how all influential elements co-operated to the final resultant. That is to say, it is impossible to treat the history of Israel by itself alone, or with a mere incidental reference to the actions and policy of neighbouring nations where these were of decisive moment. For the actions and the policy of these nationalities also had their roots in historical causes which require to be set forth with commensurate fulness and clearness.

§ 11. These views as to the relative interest and importance attaching to the various peoples of the ancient East, and the necessity of embracing all the Semitic communities in a larger historical unity, would seem to be self-evident. Yet they need to be stated and enforced with some emphasis and particularity, since it has been the almost uniform practice of writers on Oriental history to treat of each of the ruling peoples separately without much regard to the vitally close relations that have subsisted between them. This defective method of treatment has especially characterized attempts to relate the fortunes of the people of Israel. Two circumstances perhaps mainly account for the fact. The one is that the Bible, which narrates the progress and triumph of the religion of Israel, is supposed to concern itself exclusively with that people. The other is the scantiness of our information as to communities other than the Hebrew of which students long had to complain. A better understanding of the aim and character of the compositions that make up the Bible, along with a more liberal view of

its relations to general history, helps to invalidate the former prejudice; while the latter disability has been largely removed by the monumental discoveries of recent times.

§ 12. Our task then is to narrate the ancient history of the North-Semitic peoples in its bearing upon the history of Israel which it includes and involves. The materials for such a history are mainly the literary records and monumental remains generally of the Semitic peoples themselves. What comes from outside sources is only occasionally of first-rate importance, though always rightly claiming the attention of the student. In utilizing these authorities there are two occasions of embarrassment. In the first place, there are large tracts of time during which events must have occurred of great historical significance, but of which we have no direct account. The narrative must therefore at best be broken and incomplete, especially in the portion relating to the earliest ages. In the second place, the character of the greater portion of the records themselves is such as to make the writing of Semitic history, in the proper sense of the term, peculiarly difficult. The Semitic historiographers were, for the most part, compilers from the records of court annalists or chroniclers. These official scribes narrated merely the deeds of the rulers whom they respectively served, and it was not their custom to go outside of traditional and conventional limits. If they commemorated adequately the achievements of their royal patrons, they were considered to acquit themselves of their duty. For information as to the condition and progress of the people at large, we are left to incidental statements connected with the beneficence or public spirit of the kings, to the testimony, when such is at hand, of contemporary monuments of art or practical skill, or to records of legal or business transactions. Of international relations and complications, we learn only that the powers concerned went to war or made treaties; and we are told nothing as to the

motives which in any given case prompted the action. To a large extent the same characteristics are exhibited in the Hebrew historical books. These compilations are, indeed, superior as sources for constructive narrative to the annals of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, in that, for example, they are framed upon a fixed plan with a definite purpose. Yet they are often only slightly available for the details of important epochs, inasmuch as their aim is to mark the stages of progress of the theocratic system by indicating sharply the critical periods, and by illustrating fully the lives and characters of the personages who were the main instruments in preparing the way of Jehovah, as they determined the attitude of the nation towards him and his message and messengers. In other words, the so-called Bible histories devote themselves rather to commemorating an idea than to sketching the rise, development, and decline of a people or nation. The invaluable information which we do gain from them as to the current of national sentiment among the Hebrews, and the determining features of their political and social life, comes to us rather as the setting and framework of a picture than as the text which describes and explains it. Accordingly, while each species of historical record, of higher or lower order, subserves the end for which it was designed, none of them, nor even all taken together, supply the need we feel of fuller light upon the long and involved processes of national and social development which make up the story of the struggles and achievements of the Semitic peoples. Often, indeed, we have to lament that we must grope uncertainly in our search for the causes of important movements, and some of the most impressive historical phenomena known to men awaken our interest and at the same time refuse to us all but the most meagre opportunity of gratifying it. The progress of human action seems often to be like a river flowing underground, the greatness of whose volume and the swiftness of whose current are attested to us only by the

murmurs that reach us from subterranean depths laid open here and there, and by the feeble glimpses which the light thus admitted affords to our prying inspection; but near the end of its course it bursts suddenly upon our view, bringing to the upper day the whole of its gathered waters that had been swollen continually by rill and fountain supplying it unseen and in silence.

§ 13. The various annals and chronicles and monumental remains of the Semitic race are thus inadequate to the delineation of its history. But there has been vouchsafed to us in a portion of the literature of Israel, for the most important periods of that history, a commentary which goes far to supply the deficiency. Hebrew prophecy is not merely the illuminator of Hebrew history alone. It takes the whole Semitic realm for its province as being conjoined with Israel in providential destiny. Its torch even sends out a light here and there over the greater world of humanity — a beam in darkness which has grown to be a light unto the Gentiles, the harbinger of him who was to come as the Light of the World. We speak of the incapacity of the Semitic mind for philosophic historical composition, and that with a large measure of justice. But what Prophecy has brought to the elucidation of contemporary history, besides the supplementing of its materials, surpasses in depth of insight and breadth of view and keenness of sympathy and height of idealizing conception, anything which in any age "the supreme Caucasian mind" has contributed to the moral interpretation of human actions or the direction and encouragement of human endeavour. How differently the philosophical historian and the Hebrew prophet approach and interpret the problems of individual and national life! Speculation, combination, rationalizing construction, are the obvious instruments of the one. The other seems to be independent of method. The Hebrew prophetic mind ignores logic; it even disdains speculation. It does not infer; it simply seems to see. It does not walk from step

to step of significant facts; it flies to conclusions of which no man sees the antecedent stages. It is like one of its own heroes when it describes him as moving at his ease in a course "which he does not traverse with his feet." It bridges over with the certitude of faith the interval between the present struggle and doubt and the future assured triumph. It deals only with subjective certainties, which the slow fulfilment of history makes objectively real. It idealizes the possibilities of humanity, and thus helps to make them practically true. It promises good, and thus helps to bring it within the reach of men. It assumes eternal principles of right, and thus tends to realize them in human character and conduct. In its flight over nations and communities, it bears a message "knit below the wild pulsation of its wings"; and what it tells us is that the great motives urging on the forces of human history are Truth and Freedom.

§ 14. Thus we shall do well to co-ordinate and combine the Hebrew prophetical literature with the surviving chronicles of actual events in weaving the story of ancient Israel and its environments of races and nations. This we must do, in the first instance, because Prophecy demonstrates how these controlling motives of truth and freedom, and the eternal unchangeable moral forces of the divine government, were most signally illustrated and justified in that chequered and many-sided history. But we shall also find that the writings of the Prophets of Israel are a depository of the facts of national and social life, more complete and more pertinent to the uses of the historian than those contained in that portion of the Biblical literature usually called historical. With regard to transactions of great national moment, such as alliances or wars with foreign powers, the prophets, it is true, do not detail the preliminary actions, or even as a rule formally indicate the determining political causes. Yet their knowledge of the affairs and circumstances, both of their own and of the neighbouring countries, is so exten-

sive and accurate, and their interest in the politics of their time so intense, that in their treatment of the moral and spiritual problems of Israel, they seldom fail by allusion or direct reference to throw welcome light upon the whole international situation. We can also infer much of the domestic policy of the rulers of Israel from the condition of the country, as described by the Prophets in their demands for moral, social, and religious reform. So fully did their ministry appropriate this wide and diversified field of sacred and secular affairs that the picture they have left us of the condition of their country and its people is unsurpassed in any literature for its keenness of appreciation and accuracy of delineation. They have, as a matter of fact, given a very material contribution to our knowledge of the international relations of the ancient peoples of Western Asia, and the essential features and tendencies of their political systems — and all in subordinate yet vital association with the paramount issue, the fate of the one true religion, as it was involved in the struggle of its votaries with the worldly forces, whether of local or imperial magnitude, which were arrayed against them. They have no parallel in history; they have themselves created the category and the function of Prophet. They were at once men of thought and men of action, keen and accurate observers, statesmen and publicists, social reformers, lofty moralists, leal-hearted patriots. The unfolding of our history will show that Old Testament Prophecy, as the forerunner and interpreter of History, performs services as signal and as important in its sphere as that rendered by it in ministering to the spiritual needs of men.

§ 15. These remarks may serve to explain the title given to the present essay, and at the same time to indicate what the general character and scope of our inquiry ought to be. It will be proper to outline the earlier history of the several kindred communities which influenced most materially the fortunes of Israel, as well as to trace

the growth of the Hebrew people itself, up to the stage at which the determining national factors became so closely interrelated as to make it possible to weave the record into one connected story. The narrative will then be continued to the catastrophe which extinguished the ancient Semitic régime, brought the Aryans to the front in Oriental affairs, and started the denationalized Judæans upon a new political and religious career. With the direct consequences of this revolution the "History and Prophecy" of the Old Testament come to a close, and here the "Monuments" of the political and religious history of the ruling Semitic monarchies, which form our chief source of information outside of the Biblical records, also cease to tell their story.

§ 16. For properly enjoying as well as utilizing the historical study which I have just outlined, some special preparation has been assumed to be necessary. Even for the appreciation of the Old Testament itself, which is the main object of our interest and research, we shall find that the point of view of the modern Bible reader must be changed. Our purpose is to follow the progress of events long gone by, and the operation of providential causes within a sphere of action foreign in many essential respects to what we occupy and observe in these later times and under Western skies. We must learn to look at all events, and at all social, political, and even religious conditions, with the eyes of contemporaries and in the spirit of the ancient historians and prophets themselves. To learn to view these things from the inside, and not from the outside, is not an easy task for any of us; but it is indispensable for intelligent insight, true historical perspective, and just and sober judgment. The first thing then to be done is to get a satisfactory knowledge, let us say, of such external matters as those with which the Bible concerns itself — such a knowledge of the physical aspect, social institutions, political systems, and religious customs of the natives kindred to Israel as an intel-

ligent contemporary of the Hebrew prophets possessed. For example, the prophets concern themselves vastly with the great empires beyond the River. It will naturally, then, be useful for us to get some accurate notion of the genius and character of these kingdoms and peoples; of their political tendencies and aims, whose operations were of such vital consequence to Israel and the world; of their religion, to which manifold reference is made in the Bible; of their intellectual and moral features as being the most gifted and influential of the kindred of Israel, the creators of science, and the conquerors and rulers of Western Asia. So also must we deal with the other tribes and kingdoms of less relative importance which were involved in the process of the development of Israel, as they grew into competency for the functions assigned them when God "determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation." Hence it will be profitable for us, from the Biblical as well as from the broadly human standpoint, to take, first of all, a rapid glance at the physical features of the lands with which the Bible and the monuments have to do in common, and the leading characteristics of their peoples, as members of the great Semitic family, and as factors in the political, social, and religious history of the ancient East.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH-SEMITIC TERRITORY AND ITS INHABITANTS

§ 17. THAT portion of Western Asia with which our present inquiry chiefly concerns itself is included in a somewhat crescent-shaped territory stretching northwestward from the Persian Gulf, skirting in its whole extent the great Syro-Arabian desert, terminating on the frontiers of Egypt, and bisected by the Great River, the river Euphrates (§ 71 f.). In modern Turkey, of which it now forms a part, it is not by any means the most important section, though in pre-Turkish times it was the most populous and influential portion of the whole area at present embraced under that dominion. It corresponds very nearly to the territory included in the modern provinces (vilayets) of Baghdad, Mosul, Diarbekr, Aleppo, Damascus, Lebanon, and Jerusalem, comprising about 220,000 square miles, or less than one-third of the Sultan's Asiatic possessions — an area rather larger than Germany, nearly twice as large as Italy, or three times as large as England. Leaving out of view the small district of Palestine and the Syrian highlands stretching almost unbrokenly northward to meet the range of Taurus, nearly all of this territory consists of level country reclaimed from the desert, through the fertilizing influence of the Euphrates and Tigris or their tributaries. On the north lay the broken mountain-chains, the valleys and plateaus of Cappadocia and Armenia, in ancient times rarely, and then only under precarious compulsion, brought into political union with the dominant race controlling the

plain. On the east were the mountains of Media and Elam; on the south the illimitable desert. On the west was the Great Sea; and where the western and northern boundaries approach, lay the huge but not impassable barrier of the Taurus range, with all of Asia Minor behind it.

§ 18. The most comprehensive fact to be noted about this territory has been already suggested, that it was the home of the leading Semitic communities and the scene of their activity during by far the largest part of the history of the civilized world. The following is a scheme of the divisions of the Semitic race. It is based partly upon the evidence afforded by linguistic affinity, and partly upon geographical and historical distribution.

A: NORTHERN SEMITES

I. BABYLONIAN: *a.* Old Babylonian; *b.* Assyrian; *c.* Chaldæan

II. ARAMÆAN: *a.* Mesopotamian; *b.* Syrian

III. CANAANITIC: *a.* Canaanites; *b.* Phœnicians

IV. HEBRAIC: *a.* Hebrews; *b.* Moabites; *c.* Ammonites; *d.* Edomites

B: SOUTHERN SEMITES

I. SABÆANS

II. ETHIOPIANS

III. ARABS

§ 19. It should be said with regard to the foregoing classification, that it has been made as general as possible, since it is a matter of great difficulty to make clear-cut

divisions on an exact ethnological basis. If a linguistic classification[1] were attempted, a scheme largely different would have to be exhibited, since, in some instances, two or more distinct families came to use in historical times the same language, without any serious divergence as far as the extant literary records enable us to decide, and in other cases communities of the same family learned to employ idioms distinct from one another. Again, it should be observed that the mixture of races which was continually going on in the Semitic world is not and cannot be indicated by our classification. The Babylonians, for example, received a constant accession from Aramæans encamped on their borders, and even beyond the Tigris; but these, as well as non-Semitic elements from the mountains and plains to the east, they assimilated in speech and customs. The same general remark applies to the Aramæans of Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, while the peoples of Southern and Eastern Palestine, and in fact all the communities that bordered on the Great Desert, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, were continually absorbing individuals or tribes of Arabian stock. Finally, it must be remarked that in some subdivisions it is necessary to use a geographical instead of a properly racial distinction; and that is, of course, to be limited chronologically. Thus, for instance, it is impossible to devise a single strictly ethnological term for the two great divisions of the Aramæans.

§ 20. It is now pretty generally admitted that the home of the Semitic race, before its separation into the historical divisions, was Northern Arabia. Naturally, it is impossible to assign to them any definite locality. In fact, it is a mistake to suppose that a very limited area could have been the dwelling-place of any such aggregation of kindred tribes as that from which the Semitic peoples were descended. The theory that one small tribe or family ever did or could branch off from the rest of man-

[1] See Note 1 in Appendix.

kind, and start a new community with a new language and new customs and institutions, is untenable. The conditions which made the *beginnings* of such an evolution possible lie much further back than the stage which the ancestors of the Semites had reached when they possessed those elements of language, those arts of life, and the other attainments of civilization, which were later held by their descendants in common. Such a stage of development belongs to the sphere of anthropology and prehistoric archæology; and it is quite impossible, as yet, to conjecture where the savage progenitors of the Semites lived in *hordes*, without tribal distinctions, at the period thus indicated. When we speak of the home of the early Semites, we must picture to ourselves a number of closely related tribes or clans, occupying a region covering thousands of square miles, having similar pursuits, and moving along parallel lines of development by reason of free intercourse with one another. Such an hypothesis is necessary to explain both the degree of culture which they attained in common, and, on the other hand, the possibility of their division into distinct families with all their historic differences of language, religion, and social institutions.

§ 21. The principal arguments in favour of the view that the Semites had their individual residence in Northern Arabia may be properly enumerated here. There is, in the first place, the fact that the historical distribution of the several families is thus best accounted for, as will presently appear. Secondly, the dominant characteristics of the ancient Egyptians are generally admitted to indicate a strong interfusion of Semitic with African elements, and as their civilization is enormously old, it is to be supposed that the immigration took place from the region which, as far back as the records of history speak, constantly supplied the Nile Valley with new settlers; that is, the Arabian desert. In the third place, the permanent genius of the Semites, which disinclined them to

inhabit or colonize extended mountain regions, would seem to betray an inherited aptitude for life upon the plains. Finally, the nomadic origin of the Semites is attested by words relating to the life and association of nomads (*e.g.* "sheep," "shepherd," "camel," "bow," "arrow"), which are found in all the dialects of the race, and must therefore have been used by the common ancestors of all. The only desert and wilderness land whose location suits the geographical distribution of the race is that of Northern Arabia.[1]

§ 22. To the ancient Hebrews and their contemporaries the dividing line of the whole of the North-Semitic region was "the great river, the River Euphrates." And, indeed, the course of that stream, after leaving the mountains, formed not only a natural means of separation between tribes and races, but also a commercial halting-place, and a strategic barrier of no mean importance. Another basis of division, however, would be physically as well as politically and ethnographically more exact, the Euphrates playing in it also a leading part. The first or western division extends from the Mediterranean to the basin of the Euphrates. The second or middle portion includes the pastoral lands between that river and the Tigris, and the trading stations and towns to the north; that is, Mesopotamia proper. The third or eastern section includes the territory extending from the mountains of Kurdistan southward to the Persian Gulf, including the cities and villages on both sides of the Tigris and the Lower Euphrates. The whole region may be tentatively said to have been appropriated by the several families of Northern Semites somewhat as follows: —

§ 23. While among the Southern Semites the various Arab tribes remained for the most part in their desert

[1] A contrary opinion, that the Semites came originally from the highlands of Central Asia, is maintained by Guidi, de Goeje, and Hommel. The two leading theories are compared in favour of Arabia by Wright, *Comp. Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, ch. i; cf. § 105 of this work.

home for thousands of years as obscure Bedawin, and the Sabæans cultivated the rich soil of the southwest and the southern coast of Arabia, and there developed cities and a flourishing commerce, and the nearly related Ethiopians, migrating across the Red Sea, slowly built up in Abyssinia an isolated civilization of their own, those branches of the race with which we are immediately concerned, after a lengthened residence in common camping-grounds, moved northward and westward to engage in more important enterprises. The Babylonians, occupying the region which the Bible makes known to us as the scene of man's creation, and which historical research indicates to have been the seat of the earliest civilization, made their home on the lands of the Lower Euphrates and Tigris, converting them through canalization and irrigation into rich and powerful kingdoms finally united under the rule of Babylon. Before the union was effected, emigrants from among these Babylonians settled along the Middle Tigris (§ 171), founded the city of Asshur, and later still the group of cities known to history as Nineveh. The Assyrians then, after long struggles, rose to pre-eminence in Western Asia, till after centuries of stern dominion they yielded to the new Babylonian régime founded by the Chaldæans from the shores of the Persian Gulf.

§ 24. The Canaanites, debarred from the riches of the East, turned northwestward at an unknown early date, and while some of them occupied and cultivated the valleys of Palestine, others seized the maritime plain and the western slope of Lebanon. On the coast of the latter region they took advantage of the natural harbours wanting in the former, and tried the resources and possibilities of the sea. As Phœnicians of Sidon and Tyre, they became the great navigators and maritime traders for the nations, and sent forth colonies over the Mediterranean, which in their turn illustrated the versatility of the Semitic genius by grasping at and almost maintaining against the rising

power of Rome, the supremacy of the new western world. Their kindred in the interior cultivated the valleys and mountain-slopes with corn and the vine, and through their industry made of the country "a land exuding milk and honey."

§ 25. Meanwhile the pasture lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates and between the southern desert and the northern mountains were gradually being occupied by the Aramæans, who advanced with flocks and herds along the Euphrates, leaving, however, encampments and even large settlements on the skirts of Babylonia both to the east and to the west, and some enterprising traders among its heterogeneous population. While the bulk of the Aramæans adhered to the old pastoral life among the good grazing districts in the confines of the desert, a large number, favoured by their intermediate position between urban and nomadic settlements, addicted themselves to the carrying trade between the East and the West, and as travelling merchants and negotiators of all sorts of exchange, played a most important part in the promotion of commerce and the extension of Babylonian art and science westward, till it was taken up by the Greeks and by them made available to the progressive European world. Indeed, their position and influence as land traders were strikingly analogous to those of their kindred, the Phœnicians, upon the sea. This remarkable people, however, never attained to political autonomy on a large scale in their Mesopotamian home, to which for long ages they were confined. After the decline of the Hettite principalities west of the Euphrates (§ 201), to which they themselves largely contributed, they rapidly spread in that quarter also. They mingled with the non-Semitic Hettite inhabitants of Carchemish and Hamath, formed settlements along the slopes of Amanus and Anti-Lebanon, and created on the northeast corner of Palestine a powerful state with Damascus as the centre, which was long a rival of Israel, and even stood out against the might of Assyria.

Thus the Aramæans really acted a more prominent political part to the west than they did to the east of the Euphrates, and accordingly they have been popularly most closely associated with the name "Syria." At the same time they did not abandon their old settlements between the Rivers. So it came to pass that after the decline of the Hebrew and Babylonian language and literature the Aramaic language not only overspread the whole of Palestine, and invaded the Sinaitic peninsula, but in fact became, until the Mohammedan conquest, the prevailing idiom of literary and popular usage through the whole of the North-Semitic realm.

§ 26. As the latest of the historical divisions of the race to form an independent community, the Hebraic family made their permanent settlement in and about Palestine. Their common ancestors of the family of Terah emigrated from Southern Babylonia more than two thousand years before the Christian era. It is highly probable that they were of Aramæan stock (Deut. xxvi. 5; cf. § 25, 339). Haran (Ḫarrān), the great commercial and religious gathering place of the Aramæans, gave them temporary shelter on their route, and a portion of the clan, the family of Nahor, made their permanent home among this people of shepherds and traders. But a land of better promise called their great leader, Abraham, further west, and he and his descendants lived for centuries in Southern Canaan, dwelling still in tents as pilgrims and strangers. After a time Moab and Ammon secured a precarious footing in the valleys and uplands east of the Jordan, where they maintained a struggle for existence with the non-Semitic Amorites, a struggle only decided finally in their favour through the interposition of their enterprising kindred, the men of Israel, who then shared with them the disputed territory. Edom contented himself with a roving frontier life on the southern border of Canaan. His brethren of Israel, after a unique and chequered history, including a long

residence in Egypt and the displacement of the Amorites from their possessions east of the Jordan, at length made Central Palestine also securely their own, and the seat of most of their tribal settlements. All of the immigrants had early adopted "the language of Canaan," known in later times as "Hebrew." Before, and to a less extent after, its final establishment in Canaan, there had been absorbed by Israel large elements of Arabic derivation, and there was undoubtedly also commingling of certain sections of the immigrants with their Canaanitic predecessors. These facts, taken in connection with the Aramaic original of the clan, and its probable admixture with Babylonian elements during its residence on the Lower Euphrates, prevent us, on the one hand, from classing the Hebrews definitely with any single one of the other great divisions, and suggest to us that their kinship with all of them may help to account for their marvellous "race" qualities, as well as for the unmatched intellectual and moral force of their choicest representatives.

CHAPTER III

CONSTITUTION AND CHARACTER OF THE NORTH-SEMITIC COMMUNITIES

§ 27. We shall now proceed to take a glance at the political organization of this North-Semitic country during the times for which the most adequate material for such a general survey is accessible. The first thing to be noticed is the contrast afforded by this region between its condition in these early ages and its present state. The popular saying that everything in the East is unchangeable is a useful statement to work with when dealing with certain phases of the life and manners of Semitic peoples in their immemorial habitats; but it is as untrue of them as it is of the rest of the world with application to political fortune and social advancement. What is most remarkable in the case of this region is that the contrast should be so decidedly unfavourable to the present. Not in Palestine alone, but in the whole region eastward to the Persian Empire and Gulf, the people thirty centuries ago were far more numerous and prosperous than are the inhabitants of the same territory at the present day. For its present condition it is sufficient to be reminded that the whole country is under the sway of the Osmanli, and that their governmental system may be summarized negatively, at least, as one under which the rule of official neglect and indifference is only broken in favour of official rapacity and extortion. Immense tracts of the most fertile soil on the globe, of which three thousand years ago "every rood of ground maintained its man," are now abandoned to wild beasts or roving Bedawin. Agricul-

ture, the basis of a people's prosperity, is through most of its area in a more backward condition, even as regards mechanical appliances, than it was in those remote ages. Now the only signs of prosperity are to be seen among the merchants of a few of the cities, or the slave-dealers, or the money-lenders, or the tax-gatherers and officials generally. The population of the region with which we are concerned is at present under nine millions, or about forty inhabitants to the square mile. The districts now most thickly peopled — Lebanon, Damascus, and Jerusalem, a territory exceeding the widest limits of ancient Palestine — contain a population of about sixty to the square mile, certainly less than half the number that lived in the same area in the days of Hiram and Solomon or in those of Jeroboam II, and Uzziah. The great province of Baghdad, with its four millions and three-quarters of inhabitants, was far surpassed in population by the Babylonia of Nebuchadrezzar alone. The total of nine millions must have been vastly exceeded any time between the ninth and seventh centuries B.C. merely by the population of the chief cities, of the greatest of which no vestige remains above the surface of the soil, and of many of which the very site is now unknown. The Assyrian annals, in matters of numeration vastly more reliable than the modern official statistics, in recounting the details of tribute paid by comparatively insignificant communities, indicate the possession of an amount of wealth and a degree of advancement in the industrial and æsthetic arts, which to the present inhabitants of the same districts would seem like fictions of an Eastern story-teller; and in many cases they speak of an abundance of cereal productions such as would be sufficient to feed half a Turkish province of the nineteenth century. True, most of these localities suffered from frequent cruel and devastating wars; but their speedy recuperation betrays the extent of their resources, and reminds us also that their total history was not merely one of war and calamity. On

this single point of material prosperity alone the contrast is startling and appalling. While nearly the whole of the world, at present called civilized or semi-civilized, illustrates in its own condition one of the surest tests of human progress, "more food for more men, better food for every man," this region has in large measure reverted to the primitive condition of precarious living for a scanty population.

§ 28. Of the political character and internal organization of the peoples inhabiting the region we have been describing, it is not easy to convey a clear and comprehensive notion in a single brief statement. It must be said, however, that certain general features were common to all the states that flourished there in ancient Semitic times. Especially noticeable is their marked limitation of capacity for political organization, as compared, for instance, with the Greek, Roman, and Teutonic families of the Aryan race. For example, when we use the word "empire" of the great Assyrian or Babylonian monarchy, or even the word "kingdom" of Israel, Judah, or Damascus, we must not transfer to either of these the notions with which one associates the terms in European history. As far as principles and methods of administration are concerned, it would be much better to compare them with those of the present Ottoman Empire — with this main difference, however, that the Osmanli rulers induced a reaction towards a ruder type by adapting their system of rigorous simplicity to countries which had already enjoyed, to some extent, the higher and more complex forms of Western government imposed on them by a non-Oriental race. Less familiar, but rather better illustrations in the matter of administrative essentials, are the "empires" of Morocco and Muskat, with their types of government purely Semitic.

§ 29. The administration of the separate communities composing such an "empire" illustrates clearly the slender capacity of the Semites for continuous political prog-

ress. Thus, while the whole Semitic territory was frequently under the authority of one ruler, no large part of it could be kept in subjection without repeated reconquest and chastisement of the refractory subjects. Not until the Persians came upon the scene was there anything like substantial corporate unity in Western Asia. Although these uncultured Aryans gained most of the elements of civilization from the conquered Semites, they showed themselves capable of bringing into and keeping in subjection their intellectual masters through the force of a sort of talent which the latter had never manifested in a very high degree. Again, the faculty of forming permanent unions of smaller states, or of federating in an extensive scale, such as, for example, has been exemplified by much less gifted races like the Iroquois of North America, seems to have been equally wanting to the Semite (§ 54). Coalition was, as a rule, the result of conquest alone, and when the restraining hand of the despot was removed, there being no administrative solidarity with any moral combinatory force, the transient bonds of external union were snapped, and the individual states reverted from vassalage into temporary independence, only to be subverted again by the same or other masters. The history of Assyria and its subject states, including Israel, will amply illustrate the highest efforts of Semitism to found an empire, and at the same time its inherent incompetency to consolidate and unify what it essayed to govern. An analogous observation may be made of another branch of the ancient Semitic people, who moved over a wider space on the earth's surface than even the Assyrians and Babylonians. The Phœnicians, in their unlimited intercourse with their uncultured customers of many lands, never succeeded in civilizing or assimilating them; and their language, unlike the Latin and Greek, spread little beyond their own mercantile settlements. As Mommsen puts it,[1] "The Phœnicians founded factories rather than

[1] *History of Rome*, Eng. translation, New York, 1871, vol. ii, p. 11.

colonies." This lack of "the instinct of political life, the noble idea of self-governing freedom," which is found in the otherwise highly endowed Semitic peoples, seems all the more singular when we contrast it with the matchless vitality of the race — a paradox continually presented to us by the modern Jews, who live on and on, and yet are without a country and without a civil government, and to whom the most despotic monarchies and the most democratic communities of the earth seem equally congenial.

§ 30. We can now look a little more closely at the political life of the Northern Semites during historical ages. All that is known of the whole Semitic race warrants the belief that like other ancient primitive peoples they began with tribal organization, each tribe becoming a political unit through the possession of common social customs unified and perpetuated by common religious beliefs and rites and the worship of common divinities. Now leaving out the earliest and rudest nomadic gatherings or rudimentary settlements, which were dissolved and broken up, leaving no trace behind them, and therefore making no history for themselves, we find that from the fundamental tribal organization there grew, directly or indirectly, four principal types of political aggregation, representing four distinct stages of development. These are indicated respectively by the building of cities or the founding of single civic communities; the expansion of such states by conquest; their extension by colonization; the direct making of a nation by tribal federation.

§ 31. The first of these types or stages — the founding of cities — requires to be looked at with particular attention. The dwelling in villages and building of cities was, of course, common to all civilized Semites, running parallel with the advance from the pastoral to the agricultural and industrial stages, or from casual barter and trading in small travelling companies to the establishment of fixed markets and centres of supply. Now since this characteristic process of social development became the

determining influence in Semitic corporate life and government, a study of the Semitic city with its adjuncts and dependencies, its internal administration and external relations, the conditions and stages of its growth, will help us better than anything else to understand the political genius of the race, and consequently its history.

§ 32. In dealing with the character of Semitic cities, a caution must be uttered at the outset similar to that expressed already with regard to Semitic government in general (§ 28). We must be careful to disassociate them in our minds from the cities of modern Europe, and even from those of classical antiquity. They have no real analogy as far as political constitution is concerned with the self-governing "city-states" of ancient Greece, with which their separate autonomous existence in such numbers naturally suggests an external resemblance. A Greek city was a collection of citizens, each of whom took a direct share in civic or state government, in this main respect resembling the burgesses of a modern Teutonic municipality. The divergence from this ideal presented by the Semitic type of city was noticed by Aristotle[1] when he cites the alleged fact that Babylon could be entered and occupied by an invader at one end two days before the inhabitants of the other end were aware of the capture. The great commercial colonies of Phœnicia made the nearest approach to the Hellenic pattern, but there was this important difference, that the citizens of the former class who took part in the government were virtually self-electing (§ 43).[2]

§ 33. The principal Semitic words employed for "city" are themselves very suggestive. We have first the קִרְיָת or shorter form קִרְת. This is the "meeting-place" (קרה)

[1] *Politics*, iii. 3, 5.

[2] It is interesting to contrast the Semitic "city," in its territorial application, with our word "township," the latter being one of the latest subdivisions of a large political whole, the former the permanent type of the totality of the state.

of men, of flocks and herds, of caravans, of great routes of travel. It indicates merely a fit gathering point, a good station for trade, a convenient depot for supplies. It includes, in historical usage, everything from the most insignificant village to Jerusalem (1 K. i. 41, 45; Isa. i. 21, etc.) and Carthage (that is, "New City"). A second word עיר, though not necessarily at first a different thing, suggests a different occasion of naming. It is a "watching-place," a collection of people having property of value over which they erected a primitive watch-tower (cf. Jud. ix. 51 ff., for one of Canaanitic origin). This indicates a stage at which the encampment or depot was no longer likely to be broken up. The town was secured by the tower, which later became an adjunct of regular walls and gates, or was enlarged into a citadel (*e.g.* Jud. ix. 46). A poetical designation among the Assyrians and Babylonians, *ālu*, is also of interest. Originally meaning collectively a number of "tents" (אהל), it commemorates the encampment as the foundation of the whole subsequent city. The word מדינה ("Medīna") has also a history worthy of note. Meaning properly a "jurisdiction," it is employed in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic only of provinces or, loosely, of a country generally. In the Targums it means both a province and a city. In Syriac, Arabic, and modern Hebrew it means only a city. Its meaning has thus been gradually narrowed down to indicate that which is the normal Semitic governmental unit. It is interesting to observe that, on the other hand, the Roman *civitas* is used only loosely in the sense of *urbs* (cf. Fr. *cité* and *ville*). There is, of course, no Semitic word answering to *civitas* or πόλις or "state." A Semitic citizen, if the term can be so broadly employed, was merely a resident of the ruling city, and "citizenship" would have to be understood simply of the observance of common customs or a common cult.

§ 34. The typical Semitic city, large or small, retained plainly the traces of these historical beginnings. It was

in the "broad place," near the gate, that the public meetings were held (Neh. viii. 1–3), where the elders of the city sat for conference, and where judicial proceedings were made (Job xxix. 7 ff.; Prov. xxii. 22, etc.; 2 Sam. xv. 2; Deut. xvii. 5, etc.; Am. iv. 10 ff.; Ruth iv. 10 ff.). This was a marked feature of Jerusalem, for example, throughout Old Testament history. The great bazars, also as a rule near the principal gate, perpetuated the old institution of the depot and market at the meeting-place of caravan roads by an exposition of wares from far and near. Damascus, for instance, still has bazars not unlike those which Ahab was permitted by treaty to hold there twenty-seven centuries ago (1 K. xx. 34). The wide areas which were set apart for one trade or another (Jer. xxxvii. 21) long constituted the only streets, and in the multiplication of bazars and trading booths illustrated the stereotyped growth of the "city" from the primitive village through the increase of business and the influx of capital. What are now called "streets" were mostly crooked and narrow passages from one "quarter" to another, and a broad, straight avenue was a notable exception.[1] Gradually there were added, in large, prosperous towns, gardens large and small, and of great variety of plan, as well as other places of recreation. In the maritime and river ports, such as Tyre, Sidon, and Babylon, wharves and shipping were to be seen. But even at their fullest development there was seldom any great departure from the original type. The same divisions were extended in larger lots; the same primitive institutions were expanded locally without essential variation. In the largest and most magnificent metropolis the type still prevailed, and the cities, in their general aspect, were like so many great walled villages.

§ 35. Thus the building of cities was the decisive step

[1] Hence the distinguishing name given to the broad "Straight" street (*τὴν ῥύμην τὴν καλουμένην Εὐθεῖαν*) in Damascus (Acts ix. 11); and Herodotus notes specially that the streets of Babylon were *ἰθεῖαι* (I. 180).

towards civilization, recognized as such by the Bible itself (Gen. iv.). It accordingly marks the first stage or type of Semitic government. It also led, as a rule, to the important change of breaking up the old tribal organization without the simultaneous or subsequent creation of a true nationality, since the new enterprises did not grow into anything more complex by natural and spontaneous development. Nor did the new settlements then or thereafter succeed in coalescing peacefully into larger communities. That is to say, the normal Semitic state (city) did not enlarge itself by the absorption and assimilation of already organized communities, whether homogeneous or diverse, but by accretion, by simple addition, by attaching to itself individuals or single families or unclassified hordes, mainly from the wilderness and desert lands which in the whole interior of the North-Semitic realm bordered upon the cultivated territory. The remarkable thing here is not that political bodies larger than the individual cities were created only by force, for this has been to a large extent paralleled almost everywhere in human history. The peculiarity of the case is the isolation and mutual repulsion of the Semitic cities, as they indicate how foreign to the race was the idea of a commonwealth or a true homogeneous nationality.

§ 36. Although the character and conditions of life in cities present such a contrast to the primitive nomadic mode of existence, we are not to suppose that the early Semites, who in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, or Palestine founded and perpetuated villages and towns, passed from one form of association to another by anything like a sudden transition or rapid development. Nor are we to make the much less obvious mistake of supposing that the habits and relations of the old patriarchal life were discarded in the permanent institutions of the fixed settlements. On the contrary, it is possible to trace the influence of the patriarchal system in the establishment and regulation of the Semitic cities, and even to find there a

reproduction in type, if not in name or in detail, of the essential elements of the old tribal government. Throughout the North-Semitic realm, the simple constitution of the city or state included the rule of a "king," between whom and the common people there stood a circle of nobles or "great men," the position of the one and the others being normally hereditary. This king was universally called *malk*, even as it would appear in the Babylonian branch of the family, though there the word was generalized into "prince." The most familiar example of this city-state is that furnished by the numerous Canaanitish communities before the Hebrew settlement, each of them with a *malk* of its own. The persistence of the type may be best illustrated by the existence of the title *mālik* among the Nestorians of Aramæan descent in their settlements in Kurdistan, where the head of each "city" (*m'dīnta*) is called by that name, being chosen to that honour by the citizens upon the death of his predecessor, usually but not necessarily from the same family.[1] The word in Aramaic means literally "counsellor," and this is the original meaning of the universally employed shorter word, which is abbreviated from the same participle. Now it is easy to see how the *mālik* (*malk*) came to have the "kingly" power in the primitive city. He was, we may assume, simply the chief "elder" of the clan which founded the settlement, and as the main function of such a chief (*sheich*) among the analogous Arab tribes of the present day is not to rule, but to act as referee, to represent his people in treaties and to perform generally the duties of leader among the council of prominent men (cf. *βουλὴ γερόντων* of the Greek heroic ages), so it is natural to suppose that such a chief was regularly appointed head of each settlement under the new system of fixed residence with its extended organization. The multiplication of functionaries of one grade and another was a matter of easy transition according as the civic commu-

[1] See Note 2 in the Appendix.

nity grew in population and territory, as the social and business relations of new classes of people demanded adjustment, as the administration of the outlying unwalled districts and villages claimed attention, and as the maintenance and control of the militia in war or peace became more and more a matter of systematic management. An instance of the development of the "council of elders" in a large nomadic collection is described in Ex. xviii., where Jethro the Midianite gives, as the result of his own observation and reflection, advice upon which the organization of the unwieldy aggregation of the clans of Israel was carried out; and this may suggest to us the beginnings of the more varied and fully developed system of the locally established communities or "states." One essential difference is to be noted between the settled and the nomadic communities: the "counsellor" became a "king." But this change was inevitable, unless anarchy was to be precipitated. Doubtless frequent revolutions occurred in many cases before the hereditary tyrannic principle[1] was confirmed, the rule being that the more extensive and complicated were the interests involved, the greater was the need for a strong central power. Yet in all cases the Oriental monarchies retained and still retain the simplicity of administrative type characteristic of the earliest "kingdoms."

§ 37. We are now prepared to note, as one of the most striking phenomena of the times and of the region we are studying, a vast number of cities maintaining a separate existence, or after forcible annexation returning to independence, each with its own chief or king, and the petty court or circle of officials belonging to this primitive type of monarchy. A very distinct notion of these conditions may be obtained from the accounts of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan, which was the result of a series of conflicts with single independent cities, or of confederations made

[1] As far as we know, the royal succession, unlike that of the Roman empire, for example, was normally hereditary among the ancient Semites.

up of the same elements and temporarily formed to meet a common invader. An impression equally accurate may be gained from some of the contemporary Assyrian records of campaigns in the West-land; for example, from Sinacherib's account of his invasion of Palestine, where we have definite statements with reference to a surprising number of autonomous treaty-making principalities at the close of the eighth century B.C., and all within a territory of three thousand square miles. With this may be compared the list of kings who took part in the great league formed against Shalmaneser II (§ 228 ff.). Such a combination as the last named was never again attempted. No two campaigns found the same "states" resisting the Assyrian forces, and the conquest of Palestine as well as Mesopotamia was really made possible only because the aggressors were able to deal with the separate petty nations in detail.

§ 38. To complete the general picture of the Semitic city a word must be said of its adjuncts and environment. Under the rule and protection of the kinglet of the walled city naturally came the unwalled villages (חצר) in the neighbourhood, the farmers, the vine-growers, the market gardeners of the cultivated land, and the shepherds of the pasture grounds(מגרש). These were essential to the independent existence of the city, both for the supply of the necessaries of life and for the recruiting of the militia. And this was really all that was needed to constitute a separate principality. Accordingly, we find that the villages went with the respective cities when allotments were made after conquest, or submission was tendered after defeat.

§ 39. The second, and, in relation to History, the most important stage of Semitic political development was reached when one or more states or cities became the subjects of another. The former was then claimed by the suzerain to form part of his dominion, though the degrees of subjection were very diverse. It will become of great consequence to us at a later stage of our investigations to

make a special inquiry into the relations between the leading Semitic powers, Assyria and Babylonia, and their subject states (§ 285). Here it will be sufficient to indicate in the most general way the position held by or forced upon subject communities in the most important epochs of North-Semitic history. When, in consequence of aggression or other causes, war arose between one state and another, the vanquished nation or city was as a general thing not at once annexed by the conqueror, but merely reduced to vassalage upon condition of paying a regular tribute. With this also seems to have gone regularly the obligation to support the superior state in its own military undertakings (cf. § 55). As a principle, the degree of rigour with which the exercise of sovereign rights was accompanied depended upon the stubbornness and length of the resistance offered; and it sometimes happened that submission was made on prudential grounds without any actual collision between the two communities. In this case, the yoke of the suzerain was apt to be light in the extreme, the main thing to be secured being the regular and punctual payment of tribute without any overt discontent. Thus the great commercial cities of Tyre and Sidon, at the height of their power, usually preferred to allow the kings of Assyria and Persia to tithe their revenue rather than embark in harassing wars that would in any event cripple their commercial ventures. In case of a subsequent refusal of tribute, the seditious city or state was threatened or chastised, and a heaver tribute imposed. If it became further recalcitrant, it was formally annexed, its government abolished, and its affairs administered by the superior state. Should it finally make another attempt to recover its liberties, it would often be destroyed, its walls thrown down, and its inhabitants sold as slaves or scattered abroad. It scarcely needs to be remarked that these processes might be abridged or lengthened in special instances according to the behaviour of the vassals, the degree of barbarity and rapacity of the superiors, or the

fluctuations of their power and fortunes. In the earliest days among rude communities the methods of subjugation were doubtless summary and drastic. Such a process of gradual self-aggrandizement at the expense of neighbouring cities and their dependent districts, even when the communities involved were of the same race and of cognate religions, was, for example, that put into practice in the early history of the states of Babylonia. Here one city after another took the hegemony both in the lower and upper divisions of the country; and the same principle was exemplified in the rise and final predominance of Babel over the whole of Babylonia. Nor was it otherwise when Nineveh began its resistless course of conquest and absorption. It was by the subjugation and annexation or destruction of cities, large and small, from the Persian Gulf to Cilicia that its imperial rank and sway were attained.

§ 40. The methods and policy pursued in the subjugation of one state by another, as above broadly outlined, were exemplified even in the very highest condition of political development attained by the North-Semitic peoples. But at every stage the principle of the permanence and universality of the "city" was obviously maintained. The inherent limitations thus suggested of the political institutions of the race may be illustrated by a few striking facts. At the time when the last great dynasty of Assyrian rulers had welded together the constituent portions of the empire with the strongest of bonds which could be forged by force or policy, revolts were breaking out in various sections of the great dominion; and these were, as a rule, insurrections of cities. Even under the pressure of common suffering and loss it was difficult to secure co-operative action. Each city with its environment had to strike for itself. It might naturally be supposed that at least in Assyria proper would have been realized a fair measure of solidity; but even this apparently belonged to the unattainable. While governors

were appointed over the respective cities of the central region, outbreaks were not unfrequent in these very localities. Even one of the suburbs of Nineveh had an insurrection of its own, because it was originally established as a separate community, and of course retained its corporate individuality (§ 258). When we consider such facts as have been cited, it is not surprising to find that the Assyrian annalists in relating the dealings of their masters with outside communities speak of the same locality sometimes as a "city" (*maḫāz*), sometimes as a "country" (*māt*). To take familiar examples of the general status of the Semitic communities, one hardly knows whether to regard Damascus as a city or a country viewed in its international relations. And even in the case of those exceptional Semitic states which did not grow from cities, but through tribal federation, the capital city came gradually to absorb the surrounding country. Thus was it with Samaria and Jerusalem, with which the Northern and Southern Kingdoms respectively were so identified that the survival of nationality depended absolutely on the ability of these capitals to resist an invading army. Finally, it may be observed with regard to the most complete examples of governmental development that it was not Assyria or Babylonia that actually ruled the subject states: it was the cities of Nineveh and Babylon. It was not even the Assyrio-Babylonian race, except, so to speak, by accident, that came to be at the head of Western Asian affairs. This race secured its predominance because to it fell a territory admitting of the development of large cities, which became the centres of commercial and political activity and aggressive conquest. The race, to be sure, furnished the necessary ambition, endurance, and persistence; but these qualities were conserved and brought into play through historical conditions and political tendencies which did not affect Assyria or Babylonia alone, but belonged to the Semitic people as a whole.

§ 41. A third type of Semitic settlement was that formed by colonizing. We have seen that the most prominent part borne in extension by conquest was that performed by the Assyrian and Babylonian division of the race. In colonization it was a section of the Western or Canaanitic branch that played the most important rôle. In dealing with this subject, however cursorily, it is necessary to distinguish the different occasions of the spread of the Semitic settlements. One might, loosely speaking, include the migration of nomadic tribes, which resulted in the formation of fixed civic communities, under the general head of colonizing. Such, for example, was the result of the transfer of the Hebrews from their unsettled condition in Egypt to Canaan with its political and social consequences. Such, again, was the character of the occupation of Laish by the people of the tribe of Dan (Jud. xviii.), following the common Israelitish impulse to inhabit cities which they had not built for themselves. But these and kindred popular movements, large or small, hardly represent the idea of the extension of the state. Colonizing, in the proper sense, — the founding of new settlements which repeat the general governmental type of the parent state, — may be said to fall, among the Semites, into two main classes or species. There was, first, the transplanting into a conquered city or district of a number of settlers from the country of the conquerors. This was a favourite method of the earlier Assyrian policy in the efforts that were so persistently made to settle Mesopotamia and the northern mountain country with a population loyal to Asshur. In some cases the colonists and their descendants remained true, under great difficulties, to the home government; in others they joined in outbreaks against Assyria. It is as yet difficult to get an accurate idea of how much this policy actually contributed to the extension of the empire. Probably it was seldom permanently successful. At any rate, the most statesmanlike of the kings of Assyria found it necessary

to carry out consistently a much more drastic policy, that of uprooting rebellious vassals, and substituting for them conquered peoples from some other portion of his dominions. This process, which alone secured the lasting ascendancy of Assyria, can hardly be called colonizing in the proper sense. It is greatly to be regretted that so little can be ascertained of the methods of colonization adopted by the Aramæans when they peopled the land west of the Euphrates from their proper home in Mesopotamia. It is very likely that their occupation of the country was in many cases similar to that effected by the Hebrews in Canaan. In some instances, no doubt, they gradually and peacefully mixed with the inhabitants of the cities already founded by Hettites and other non-Semitic peoples. It must have been a rare exception when they built cities of their own in lands which, unlike Mesopotamia, had been occupied by preceding civilizations; and we may safely take for granted that their principal settlements through the length and breadth of Syria from Damascus to the Euphrates were developed upon foundations already broadly laid by Amorites or Hettites. On the other hand, the Aramæans were the explorers, *par excellence*, of the Semites, as far as commercial enterprise by land was concerned, inasmuch as their expeditions penetrated far into the interior of Asia Minor. In this sense, however, they can hardly be called colonists, since the mere establishment of trading-posts or the temporary occupation of trade centres furnished no basis for the creation of permanent settlements continually replenished from their own or a kindred stock, and administered upon the model of the parent communities.

§ 42. The second method, one more akin to colonizing in the modern sense, was that pursued by the maritime Canaanites. What the Aramæans aimed at by their land traffic, that and much more was achieved by the Phœnicians on the sea. These people were cut off politically by

the isolating tendency of their institutions from their nearest kindred in Central Palestine, and, as a rule, held it to be no business of theirs to fight with them or with the stronger powers. With the latter they preferred to compromise by presents or tribute. Thus securing peace, they learned to utilize their unrivalled position on the Mediterranean for the creation and extension of a trade of enormous expansion and value. In working up traffic with the islands and inhabited coastlands of the Great Sea, and with Egypt and the nearer and more distant East, they came by the necessities of their business and by virtue of their commercial enterprise to found a large number of trading-stations extending to the remotest West, and even along the Atlantic.[1] These were fixed mostly on islands near the coast, as being less liable to attack or more easily defended with their ships than positions further inland. In this they followed the example set by the founders of their own seaports, of which Tyre, in situation and defensibility, was the most striking and famous instance. This is not the place to give a detailed account of these remarkable settlements. It is more proper to indicate here their general relation to the parent cities. As they were established in the interest of trade, they were allowed, with little restriction, to go their own way, and to develop themselves according to their bent and natural advantages. Close communication was maintained with and frequent immigration made to the most important of them. Thus it happened, for example, that Carthage, in consequence of the political misfortunes of Tyre brought about by Sargon and Sinacherib of Assyria, Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, and Alexander of Macedon, became the refuge of the chief citizens of the metropolis. Most of the colonies of importance were held under a very mild form of the general system of vassalage. The tribute expected was light, and ships and sailors were more in demand than money for the fulfilment of the obliga-

[1] See Note 3 in the Appendix.

tions to the mother state. Of some of them, for example, Utica,[1] in the tenth century B.C. and Kition (כתים) in the eighth, we know that a refusal to furnish the usual tribute was followed by armed compulsion. Kition,[2] whose importance in the earlier stages of the Phœnician world-commerce may be inferred from the use of the name ("Chittim") among the Hebrews, was doubtless kept in close subjection because its independent development in the close neighbourhood of Tyre might interfere with the prosperity of the latter. The colonies had no representation in the councils of the parent states.

§ 43. Such unbounded maritime enterprise, varied commercial activity, and the world-wide relations established thereby with foreign peoples of the most diverse races and conditions had an influence upon the political system of the Phœnicians of the utmost importance. They became far more democratic than any other of the Semites. It is true that the kingly power was never permanently dispensed with in Phœnicia proper, but there gradually came to be a compromise between it and that of the nobles, who themselves represented not only the "elders" of the Canaanitic city, but a select proportion of the "merchants who were altogether princes." It is not difficult to see how the constitution of these modernized Phœnician communities came to differ so greatly from that of the military states which were developed through conquest. The growth of extensive manufacturing and commercial interests through private enterprise, unfettered by the demands of military conscription and the maintenance of a standing army, led inevitably to a sentiment of individual independence and the development of something remotely resembling civic freedom. Their wealth and luxury were created by the peaceful exertions of their own citizens, and not secured by plunder and the force of arms, or the im-

[1] Under Hirom I: τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις ἐπεστρατεύσατο Jos. Ant. viii. 5, 3 (ed. Niese, Berlin, 1888).

[2] Under Elulæus: ἀποστάντων Κιτταίων Jos. Ant. ix. 14, 2.

position of tribute gathered by imperial officials, as was the case in Assyria and Babylon. The creators of such capital — the proprietors of the factories, the mines, the ships, and the warehouses — could insist on the free disposal of their wealth; and this of itself was a long step towards the assertion of a right to be consulted in the adjustment of mutual interests and of the concerns of the community as a whole. It is, accordingly, not surprising to learn that Sidon had in the later times a council consisting of between five and six hundred members. In the colonies, when independence of the mother country was established, as in the case of Carthage, there was no attempt to re-establish the Canaanitic type of kingship; but the chief control was put into the hands of an oligarchy consisting of a duumvirate of *suffetes*, or "regulators" (O. T. שֹׁפְטִים, "judges"). In Carthage there was in addition a senate afterwards modified by a large administrative committee of citizens; but there were no popular assemblies, and the fact that the initiative in nominations for civic office was not taken by the citizens at large made the government, with all its division of authority, more of an aristocracy than a democracy.

§ 44. Of the mutual relations of the states or cities of Phœnicia proper, we know very little, the most outstanding fact being that, while Sidon was at first supreme, a hegemony was exercised by Tyre over all the coast cities of the neighbourhood during the long period when she was at the height of her prosperity. We must not suppose, however, that serious wars took place between the cities before the superiority of any one of them was established. At least we do not know of such; and it is very reasonable to assume that the weaker states held towards Tyre the same prudent policy of peaceful concessions which all in common pursued, as a rule, towards the Assyrians and their successors in imperial power in Western Asia. Thereafter the suzerainty exercised by Tyre increased in the direction of absolute sovereignty, as she achieved her

incomparable growth in wealth and in all the resources of civilization. Yet the essential forms of traditional monarchy were preserved, at least in all the cities of note; and there is no reason to suppose that the Tyrians ever undertook the administration of the affairs of any of the smaller communities after the manner of Assyrian annexation.

§ 45. It only remains to be added here, with regard to the general features of Phœnician life, that the necessary absence of the agricultural class formed a marked distinction between that people and their Canaanitic brethren. The products of the inland were coveted by the mercantile population of the cities on the coast, who had no direct source of food supply (Ezek. xxvii. 17; cf. Ezra iii. 7, Acts xii. 20); and the additional fact that the Phœnicians were remote from the nomadic settlements, from which the other Semitic communities were recruited, made it a matter of importance to them to be able to draw upon other countries for labourers and seamen. In the treaty between Hiram and Solomon, by virtue of which a number of districts in the interior were ceded to the former, we may observe an attempt to secure the permanent basis of a food supply; while in the men-stealing raids practised by Tyre and Sidon, we have a painful suggestion of a method frequently adopted in order to secure working-hands for themselves and their customers, in addition to the slaves whom they obtained in the way of commercial exchange (Ezek. xxvii. 13). In the larger Phœnician colonies bordering upon rich agricultural soil, earnest endeavours were made to secure independent tillage, or at least a large proportion of the annual produce; and, in fact, it was the development of Carthage into a community of planters as well as merchants, which gave it its immense financial resources.

§ 46. The fourth type of political development is that exhibited in the making of a nation directly by means of tribal federation. In this case, the autonomy given to

the new community did not proceed from the city as the highest unit of government real or nominal, but was based upon the direct choice of the tribe or clan. Yet it was impossible for an association of tribes to become a nation while they were still in the nomadic stage. The possession and development of fixed settlements was always an essential condition of nation-making, for the reason that it is the tenure and utilization of a definite area of territory which gives permanence to any social or political factor, whether the family, the clan, or the state. The conditions of pastoral and migratory life are at once too simple and too fluctuating to admit of the founding of a stable society. The limitations of patriarchal government are bound to be felt, no matter how strong may be the tribal feeling and the clannishness that characterize a race of shepherds and hunters. There are two main causes of the instability of such a community. There is, in the first place, the fact that the real determining and cohesive unit is not the tribe or clan, but the family. The tribe is an aggregation of people having a vague persuasion that they are of common descent, but bound together mainly by the possession of certain traditional customs, social and religious, the observance of which constitutes the badge of membership in the society. The clan differs from the tribe, in being limited by the consciousness of a common close relationship. Now, the necessity of the extension of the family by intermarriage with outsiders — a universal habit among Semitic peoples — broke through the exclusiveness of the clan, and therefore finally also the unity of the tribe. Again, the permanent or casual neighbourhood of other tribes, related or unrelated, led to the continual absorption of new elements and the secession of old members. Accordingly, the identity and homogeneity of the tribe were really attested by the obvious marks of a common language and common customs, and not by the less easily ascertainable criterion of kinship. Under these circumstances, it was impossible

for men in a simple society to found anything like permanent civil institutions. There were, it is true, both among Northern and Southern Semites, many tribal combinations which were rich and powerful, and could make their strength felt either as substantial allies or formidable foes. Such were some of the principal Aramæan tribes along the Lower Euphrates and Tigris (§ 339), several of the tribes or "nations" of Northern Arabia, and the Midianites of the times of the "Judges" of Israel. A few of these even attained to the reputed rank of a kingdom; for example, the Arabian tribes that combined under the rule of a "queen" in the eighth century B.C. (§ 334). Such titular sovereignty was, however, only a transfer of names from more or less analogous conditions among settled populations, and the use of the term, as applied to what were really chiefs or chieftainesses, only shows with what latitude the term "king" was employed in the old Semitic times, or, in other words, how many different kinds and degrees there were of the supreme governmental dignity. Such aggregations of people, as was natural, enjoyed no very lengthened corporate existence; and in contrast to some of these nomadic peoples presently to be mentioned, who addicted themselves, within fixed geographical limits, to the cultivation of the soil, their names speedily vanished from the records of the race.

§ 47. As already indicated, the oldest Semitic cities, which were at the same time the earliest type of stable government, were founded for purposes of security and convenient supply, in the interests of business that depended upon agriculture or trading (§ 31 ff.). In either case the population was originally nomadic, gradually taking up with the tilling of the soil and with industrial pursuits. We have no historical record of the times when the decisive steps were taken which resulted in the founding of permanent settlements from wilderness and pasture lands. The earliest cities of Palestine east and

west of Jordan, and those of Lower Babylonia, and even those of Mesopotamia, had long been established when their oldest surviving monuments were made. It is altogether different with this fourth type of state-making. Some of the most noteworthy of the tribal federations which grew into nations took place within historical times, and we can trace with approximate accuracy the steps in their progress. We have just seen (§ 46) that it was impossible for such an achievement to be reached while the tribes were still in their native seats with their primitive modes of life. On the other hand, it can be positively affirmed that every such national evolution was accomplished by peoples originally nomadic who came to dwell in cities, not of their own building, but acquired by immigration or conquest, or rather by both combined. The most stupendous example of such an achievement among the Semites was the creation of the Caliphate by the nomads of Arabia under the impulse of Islam. Of still greater importance to the world, though on a very much smaller scale, was the occupation of Canaan by the Hebrews. But there was this essential difference between the two epoch-making movements, that the former was not a case of tribal federation after conquest, but of the partition of an immense portion of newly acquired territory among the leaders of the conquerors mainly according to historically recognized boundaries. In fact, we have to note, as a most remarkable phenomenon, that the only known voluntary associations of tribes thus coalescing to form a nation among the Semitic peoples were those formed by the Hebrew race. The Canaanites developed only government in independent cities. The Assyrians and Babylonians, though they spread more widely, and continually conquered and annexed and organized, did not depart essentially from the same idea. The Aramæans of historical times might be expected to furnish examples most nearly parallel to the movements of the Hebrews; but when and so far as they left their encamp-

ments and trading-posts, they fell into line with the normal Semitic habit, and manifested their political aptitudes by building up great inland commercial cities like Haran and Damascus; and their numerous kingdoms, east and west of the River, were, as far as we know, developed according to the general Semitic analogy from important centres such as these. All the more noteworthy, therefore, is the strong sense of brotherhood, the feeling of homogeneity, the consciousness of a worthy destiny, and, above all, the power of their common religion, which united the various scattered clans of the Hebrew race, and precluded their apparently inevitable disintegration. At the same time it must be remembered that the antecedent conditions, without which the federation of the tribes into national unity would have been impossible, were the great and goodly cities which they had not built, and houses full of all good things which they had not filled, and cisterns hewn out which they had not hewn, vineyards and olive-trees which they had not planted (Deut. vi. 10 f.).

§ 48. The Hebraic peoples besides Israel who eventually realized more or less fully the idea of the nation upon the tribal basis were the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. Of these, the Moabites were by far the most highly organized and the furthest removed from the nomadic stage. We cannot trace the development of Moab from the earliest settlement of Abraham's tent-dwelling kindred to the establishment of the kingdom. We only know that the Moabites were not the first to found cities on the fertile mountain slopes and tablelands east of the Dead Sea; that they had attained the status of a kingdom before Israel entered upon its possession in Canaan; and that this political consolidation was reached, not by the extension of the power of any of the numerous cities of that highly cultivated region, but by the unification of the clans which had gradually dispossessed the preceding Amorite colonizers. Still less do we know of the

foundation and actual extent of the state founded by their kindred, the Ammonites. Their little kingdom also preceded that of Israel. They had few cities, and these were created in the interest of agriculture, an industry which was continually being recruited by colonies from the larger nomadic community of the eastern desert. Of the four Hebraic nations, Ammon was the one which was most purely a tribal development. Its paucity of fixed settlements and its tenacity of race feeling (cf. § 46 f.) alike attest its continual nearness to the original tribal type. The remaining community, Edom, was, with the possible exception of Israel, the most mixed in race of the Hebraic peoples, since it was perpetually absorbing members of one or another of the Arabian tribes of the vicinity. Its situation seemed little favourable to the establishment of a nation; but like the other two kindred and rivals of Israel, it had attained to the degree of a kingdom before that people had given up its wanderings. The occasion of the growth of certain of its rocky fastnesses into cities of note and long renown — such as Boṣra and Petra — was not the pursuit of agriculture, to which only a limited area of the Edomitic territory was suited, but the necessities of trade, both inland and maritime.

§ 49. The gradual evolution of the Hebrew nationality from its primitive tribal conditions can only be learned from a close study of the historical process, as it is detailed in or may be inferred from the extant memorials. It will be sufficient here to point out that it embraced two main stages. The transition period was, of course, the occupation by the tribes or clans of their permanent home. This end was consciously attained less through a common national Hebrew feeling than through tribal interest; that is to say, the history of the gradual appropriation of Canaan shows that what determined the policy and movements of the new settlers was mainly the impulse or ambition of single clans or families. Where the influence of the

whole body of the people was particularly felt was in the attempt to secure for each section that portion of territory to which, for one reason or another, it could put forward the most powerful claim. The slow process of settlement and adjustment to the new physical and social conditions brought on the real beginning of governmental development. It may be called broadly the epoch of the "Judges." Its essential outcome was the consolidation of individual tribes, or sometimes of small tribal groups; in other words, the subordination of the lately acquired cities, with their circumjacent unwalled villages and fields, to the control of the tribes. The immediate occasion of this was the necessity of combination, in the first place, against the still unsubdued Canaanites, and, in the second place, and principally, against the incursions and oppressions of powerful neighbours. This sense of a common danger must therefore be recognized as the chief providential determining cause of the growth of Israel into a nation; without it the people, unused to the luxury and ease of their new residence, would have fallen under the influence of local seductions to self-indulgence and Baal-worship, and the uniting bond, the stern religion of Jehovah, often enough relaxed, would have been everywhere broken. Organically, however, the Hebrews of the period passed through little formal change. The holding of councils by the heads of the clans and families was the chief outward mark of increasing solidarity. What gives the name to the period, the rule of the "Judges," significant as it was, must be regarded as a temporary makeshift to secure unity of action, yet pointing to the inevitable institution of monarchy. The office of "Judge" (שֹׁפֵט), though it was created mainly on account of danger from enemies, was not confined to military jurisdiction. As in other ancient nations, the deliverer of the people by force of arms from oppression or invasion was looked up to as arbiter in all sorts of civil difficulties and imbroglios. This explains the use of the term, which literally means a

"regulator" or "adjuster," so that it has a real correspondence to the same word (*suffet*) as designating among Phœnician colonists one of the supreme magistrates in their aristocratic form of popular government (§ 43). The institution among the Hebrews answers nearly to the "heroic dictatorship" of Aristotle. It put the possibilities of supreme local authority within the reach of a single man; and the perpetuation of such power after the danger had passed away which had called the official into existence in the cases of several of the Judges, notably in that of Gideon in central Canaan, shows how nearly the principle of kingship came to be recognized. To Gideon himself the kingly honour was in fact offered; and though he declined it both for himself and his family, his son Abimelech ventured to appropriate it. The ill success of his pretensions, however, showed that the people were not ripe for it. As being a Canaanitic institution, it was abhorrent to the best sense of the Hebrews, especially when it was only locally and not nationally feasible. It is significant that Abimelech's brief reign was begun and encouraged in a city having still a large Canaanitic element, which was suppressed in consequence of his death and failure.

§ 50. The second or monarchical stage of government — the goal at which all the Semitic settled communities arrived — was reached among the Hebrews through an intensifying and extension of the same inward necessity and external compulsion as had necessitated the heroic dictatorship of the Judges. Each one of these rulers had stood for the rights of his tribe or section against local invasions or incursions, whether at the hands of Moabites, Northern Canaanites, Midianites, Ammonites, or Philistines. The last-named rivals of Israel had extruded a whole tribe from its allotted territory. Its transfer in a body to a remote region in the north, doubtless with the concurrence of all the rest of Israel, indicates the strength of tribal cohesion and its conservating influence, at a com-

paratively late date in the epoch of the Judges. In the second place, bitter intertribal jealousies culminating in actual conflicts, cruel and remorseless, and threatening to lead to wars of extermination, portended an internal dissolution of the Hebrew community, unless a national and patriotic feeling could be created strong enough to overcome local rivalries. A third general condition was working in Israel towards the creation of an almost universal sentiment in favour of the permanent centralization of the government. This was the gradual but inevitable breaking up of the communal system of nomadic life under the influence of agricultural pursuits. Communism, which is often held to have been characteristic of the Israelites during most of their residence in Canaan, was really only possible for long among the pastoral elements of the population. Among the tillers of the soil the individual proprietorship of the cultivated land soon became a necessity of existence. But this involved the relaxation of the old tribal and clannish bonds and a rapid tendency towards the extreme opposite of the communistic relation — an autonomy of the individual. Yet that every man should "do what was right in his own eyes," in the circumstances of the time and people, could result and was felt to be resulting only in social disorder and the collapse of the Hebrew settlement. What was needed on all grounds was a permanent "regulator," general, chief counsellor, arbiter. The most urgent necessity was for one who should go forth with the armies of Israel against their enemies; and the decision in favour of the kingdom was finally reached when the last and most formidable of the oppressors of the Hebrews had brought them to the verge of destruction, and then a man of the popular heroic type was chosen by a large section of the people as the founder of the monarchy.

§ 51. The essential distinction between the "judge" and the "king" was hereditary succession, inasmuch as the attribute of supreme power was in either case a matter

of gradual growth and could be realized in the former functionary as well as in the latter. The distinction was clearly put in the case above referred to (§ 49) when the kingly dignity was offered to one of the Judges: "The men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son and thy son's son also: and Gideon said unto them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: Jehovah shall rule over you" (Jud. viii. 22 f.). The gist of the matter of the newly created monarchy is expressed in the persistent plea of the people of Israel, disheartened as they were by the defeats due to disorder and disunion that seemed inseparable from the precarious dictatorship of the Judges: "Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we too may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles" (1 Sam. viii. 19 f.; cf. 5 f.). They still wanted a "judge" or "regulator," but he must be a permanent ruler and leader in war; and this was to be secured by following the example of the surrounding nations, among whom hereditary kingship was universal. I have implied that the question of the degree of authority exerted by the king was at first a secondary one. This is illustrated by the reception given to the warnings of the last great Judge of Israel, under whose auspices the dictatorship passed into the monarchy, when he foretold to them to what complexion the monarchy would come at last (1 Sam. viii. 11–18). The main thing with the people at the time was to have a strong reliable chieftain perpetually guaranteed. It is accordingly quite natural that the first king begins his reign by exercising no greater authority than did his predecessors among the military judges; after his election as king he retires to his home with his commission, ready to act when an emergency demands intervention (1 Sam. x. 26). How the hereditary principle loyally adhered to became the chief source of stability and the great conservative influence in religion, morals, and political life, we shall see

fully illustrated in the succeeding history (cf. § 278); as also it will clearly appear how the simple and unexacting rule of the king chosen from among his fellows grew in pomp and stringency as it became gradually forgotten that the establishment of royalty had been really a popular movement.

§ 52. The advantages of a decentralized system based upon such antecedents and traditions, as compared with the Canaanitic and the Babylonian type of monarchical development, were very great as far as the chief ends of the specifically Hebrew institutions were concerned. In the first place, a degree of local freedom and self-control could be secured unknown in the rest of the Semitic world. The kings, indeed, came to be often harsh and exacting, but their power was popularly understood to be practically limited to the regulation of military affairs and the raising and control of the revenue. The cities, being neither autonomous principalities after the Canaanitic fashion, nor garrisoned towns held in subjection by force like those of the Assyrian empire, were permitted to continue the management, through their own representative heads, of their local affairs of business and justice, except in cases involving an appeal to the central authority. Moreover, since there went naturally with them the villages and the cultivated ground adjacent to each, the organization of the whole kingdom was of that simple prescriptive kind which admitted the peaceful and untrammelled cultivation and enjoyment of the religious and social institutions inherited from the fathers. It will thus be readily understood how abuses which arose in spite of these privileges (cf. § 56) — how a departure from these simple and fairly equalized conditions of living and working, how the creation of a privileged class of the rich and luxurious, and the centralization of government and of political influence generally, were always regarded by the truest friends of the Israelitish commonwealth as especially dangerous to the liberties, as well as to the religion and

morals of the people. This wholesome conservative principle of local and individual freedom was, moreover, felt to be dependent upon the continuance and encouragement of domestic virtues, and of those pursuits and habits to which the pastoral race, now become largely agricultural, naturally adapted itself in the land of its permanent settlement. The worst danger to be apprehended was not the enlargement of the royal prerogative, but the growth of a class of wealthy and grasping magnates standing between the common people of the country and the king. And so foreign trade and alliances, and close relations with foreign nations in general, were dreaded, as tending to develop ambitious and luxurious inclinations and to unsettle the character of the community.

§ 53. Again, as to the important matter of capacity of national growth and recuperation, it is obvious that the Hebraic communities were far better able than the individual autonomous cities of the Canaanites, Aramæans, or Babylonians, to incorporate into themselves neighbouring tribes or families by peaceful means and by voluntary association on the part of the latter. This largely explains the numerical strength and the steady growth and vitality of the single tribe of Judah, situated as it was on the border of that great Semitic breeding-ground, the Arabian desert. It is true, on the other hand, that these tribal federations, even when organized kingdoms, had greater difficulty, through the absence of a strong central government, in securing and retaining large tracts of foreign territory and holding outside nations in vassalage, so that none of the Hebraic monarchies ever came near rivalling in extent and power those kingdoms whose central seats were the great cities on the Tigris and Euphrates. But this disadvantage was, in the case of the Hebrews proper, a decided advantage for the fulfilment of their providential mission; since through no other channel than a self-contained, politically unambitious, locally restricted community, could, in the old Semitic times, the simple and

pure religion of Israel have been conserved and conveyed to later generations of men without destructive contamination from the worldly forces that made for unrighteousness (§ 63).

§ 54. To return now to the subject of the Semitic states as a whole, it will be proper to say a word upon their capacity for voluntary alliance and confederation among themselves. Their tendency to permanent separateness, except under compulsion, has been sufficiently indicated in the foregoing paragraphs; but this must not be understood as excluding the possibility of leagues and combinations of different sorts, of greater or less extent and duration, and of various degrees of closeness. There were, for example, alliances made against common enemies, as by the cities of old Babylonia against the Elamites; the combinations of Canaanites in various groups against the invading Israelites; the frequent alliances of Syrian and Palestinian nations, cities, and tribes against the power of Assyria, of which the most general and formidable was the league against Shalmaneser II (§ 230) at the beginning of the epoch of interference with the Westland. To these may be added the alliance of the five kings of the Salt Sea against the Elamitic invasion, and the federations of the Philistines formed at different epochs for conquest and defence, before these remarkable communities of immigrants (§ 192) had assimilated themselves completely to the Canaanitic type of government. All of these, it will be at once understood, were merely temporary federations devised to meet emergencies. They did not involve even an approach to a federal or legislative union. They were simply based upon the principle of self-preservation, with the reciprocal understanding naturally existing among neighbouring groups of settlements, usually claiming a common descent and holding to cognate religions. They were, indeed, often formed between communities that were normally engaged in fighting one another, and in any case they were greatly

relaxed or entirely broken immediately after the passing away of the common danger. The same thing may be said, as a rule, of alliances which were not infrequently cemented by intermarriages between members of kingly houses.

§ 55. To be sharply distinguished from such voluntary associations, were those alliances which were based upon the less stringent forms of vassalage. It has already been mentioned (§ 39) that a subject state was as a rule expected to furnish a contingent to the superior in support of the military enterprises of the latter. Like the payment of tribute, this was made the subject of a special compact in the articles of submission. We have often thus to explain the co-operation of states which are seldom or never found acting in voluntary concert. It is, for example, an anomaly in Oriental history to find Elamites and Babylonians making an expedition in common, and the memorable instance of that sort recorded in Gen. xiv. is accounted for when we remember that the latter were then under the dominion of the former. Remarkable alliances recorded in the annals of the Hebrews between mortal enemies, such as those between Northern Israel and the Aramæans of Damascus, and between Judah and Edom, may sometimes be thus explained. It is evident that this understanding between vassals and suzerains, when it was faithfully adhered to, was a very effective instrument in the hands of powerful rulers for preventing combinations among the lesser states and securing their more ready submission. Even when there was no special requisition upon a tributary to supply an auxiliary force for the army of the suzerain, the offensive and defensive treaty between them gave the superior his strongest vantage ground for the extension of his dominions. One instance may illustrate the political importance of such leagues in general. When Sinacherib was undertaking the conquest of Palestine, it was impossible for Hezekiah and the other hostile princes to bring all the

interested states into line against the invader. Ekron, for example, the conquest of which forms an important episode in the history, was one of the principalities which were under bonds to Assyria. Its king remained faithful to his covenant; and though the people of the city were willing to join in the insurrection, their support could not be received till Hezekiah had dethroned him and carried him captive to Jerusalem. It was in fact mainly through such conditions as these industriously brought about by themselves, that the Great Kings were enabled to conquer the whole of the western lands.

§ 56. Sufficient has now been said to show the lack of permanence and solidity in almost all political combinations found among the Semites, except those based upon conquest. An explanation may now naturally be asked of this instability of the Semitic states, and of what, from a Western standpoint, we may call the political inaptitude of the race generally. A partial proximate solution of the question may be found in the fact that delegated power is foreign to Semitic notions and methods of government. The example of the Hebrews shows that it was possible for Semitic nomads, under specially favourable conditions, to grow into a nation; but while the constituents of the new monarch could make him king, neither he nor any one of his successors knew how to give back to the people in duly divided proportions the power they had conferred. He did not understand how to administer the affairs of his dominion as a whole, so as to preserve permanently the true and fair balance between the supreme power, as exercised by his representative officers, and the rights and privileges of the local authorities who were properly responsible to the individual citizens. Thus it happened that in this very best example of a Semitic nation, centralism, so dreaded by the guardians of its honour and welfare (§ 52), became too strong for the native instinct and passion for individual and civic freedom. If now we turn to the most highly organized type

of Semitic government, the Assyrian or Chaldæan empire, we find that the self-asserted authority over the subject nations and provinces, when vested in representative officials of one rank and another, was not really transferred to them in any sense or degree; that they were rather instruments than agents or delegates of the autocratic head of the state. These functionaries, for example, whose titles we are obliged to translate by "viceroy" or "governor," were not vested with anything like the independent authority wielded by a Roman prefect or even a Persian satrap, and had little analogy with the governors of a modern British colony. The whole army of administrators, of greater or smaller jurisdiction, were appointed and maintained chiefly for the purpose of looking after the royal revenues and preserving the peace. The Assyrian state was in its ordinary functions a great tax-raising institution, kept running by the same military force that had created it. If the Assyrian despots had been capable of relaxing the harshness of their rule through power constitutionally delegated to representatives in the subject states, as was done by their successors, the Persian monarchs, the history of Western Asia might have been very different. I need only recall the deportations and captivities of Israel and Judah and contrast them with the measures proclaimed in the proclamation of Cyrus and with the mild rule of the Tirshatha, to show the historical bearings of the conditions just described. For though the Persians did not advance beyond the Asiatic or what Aristotle calls the "barbaric stage of monarchy;" and though unlike the self-governing communities of Greece and Rome they gave the people no share in the work of government, yet it was an unspeakable boon to Western Asia that their conquerors knew how to relax the severity of despotic rule by dividing its force in the operations of government and thus diminishing its pressure.

§ 57. I have attempted to give a superficial explanation of the comparative failure of political institutions

among the ancient Semites. To account fully for the phenomenon, that a race otherwise so highly gifted should come short in this respect, would be impossible without a summation of the results of an inquiry into their history. But it is proper here to cite one main and thoroughgoing principle of the Semitic conception of the world and of society, which may go far towards clearing up the difficulties of the question. I mean the belief universally cherished by the race that the Deity is the real actor or agent in human affairs, and that men who are under due subordination to the Deity or in harmony with his purposes are the proper instruments of his will. Applied to the sphere of government, it means that the Semitic rulers regarded themselves as being merely the vicegerents of the gods. Now as each community among the Semites was originally an aggregation of people bound together not primarily by political but by religious bonds, that is to say, by the possession of certain beliefs and the worship of certain divinities (§ 30), it followed that whatever rulers came to administer its affairs believed that in their actions, and in theirs alone, the will of the gods was being executed. This fundamental notion was encouraged rather than depreciated by the development of the primitive communities into independent monarchies; and the greater the power and influence exercised by any ruler, the more reasonable and judicious was the custom, universal with Semitic monarchs, of ascribing all their achievements and merits to the patronage and inspiration of their favourite divinities. The elaborate setting forth of their close relations with the deities of the land, and of their commission as the ministers and favourites of Asshur, Bel, Nebo, and the other members of the pantheon, which forms the stereotyped introduction for a thousand years and more to the royal annals of Babylon and Assyria, and which at first sight seems infinitely absurd, as a very delirium of vainglory, is thus easily and naturally accounted for. A specimen phrase such as the following:

"The god Adar, the giver of the sceptre and of judgment to all and every city" (AN. I. 4), helps one to understand how divided or delegated power was to these typical Semitic rulers a thing impossible. When we look more closely at the origin and growth of this phase of the divine right of kings, we get a clearer view still of the whole matter. Each independent state had for its chief one who was head of the ruling family (§ 36). As the representative of his god or gods, he fulfilled the function of priest as well as king, offering sacrifices as well as judging and ruling. Thus we find that the earliest kings of Assyria bore a title which means "a sacrificer" (§172), and that the later monarchs retained the title as well as the function, so that a puissant ruler of the ninth century B.C. boasts that his priestly office was established forever by the divine oracles (AN. I. 25). Just so was it with Melchizedek, the priest-king of old Jerusalem; and we find the same tendency manifested in theocratic Israel in the case of Saul at Gilgal (1 Sam. xiii. 8 ff.). Again, one of the chief practical functions of Semitic rulers was to extend the sway of their patron deities; and as this was mainly accomplished through military conquest, it followed that the king as the representative of his gods could not delegate his function even as a winner of victories to any subordinate. Accordingly, while a commander-in-chief of the army under the sovereign was a necessary officer of the state, it was not expected that he would claim any successes for himself. Thus the Assyrian annals ascribe the conduct of campaigns, the plans of battles, and the subjugation of hostile territory, exclusively to the monarch, who is also represented as the author of the records, which as a rule profess to commemorate his achievements alone. For the sake of comparison, I may cite the case of David's general, who was so scrupulously careful not to take to himself any of the glory of the conquest of the capital of Ammon, that he insisted on having the king present as a matter of form at the final assault (2 Sam. xii. 26 ff.).

§ 58. Inasmuch as politics and religion were so inseparably intertwined in the history of the Semitic peoples, it may not be amiss to point out more fully what has already been frequently suggested, that religion furnished the fundamental unifying and dividing principle among their various communities. Language and race were in comparison things entirely secondary. All the Semites knew, even from their cognate types of language, that they were originally of one common stock; and yet some of the most bitter and bloody wars that ever cursed the earth were waged between Semitic peoples fully conscious of their kinship. The lines of demarkation were drawn, just as in the early communities of Greece and Italy, by worship and ceremonial. The very existence of a nation, as well as its power for self-defence and aggression, was felt to be dependent on its solidarity with its god (see 2 K. xviii. 22; cf. 1 K. xx. 23, 28). The same general fact is indicated in current phrases (Ruth i. 16; 1 Sam. xxvi. 19), which imply that a transfer of residence to a foreign country involves the adoption of another god. The notion of special proprietorship in certain gods was carried so far that a people transplanted to a strange territory was not expected to prosper unless they adopted the "god of the land" (2 K. xvii. 26 ff.). A full appreciation of these and kindred facts is the master-key to the chief problems of Semitic life and history.

§ 59. Thus the mutual obligation of worship and protection between the people and their national god was one of the chief bonds of union in every Semitic community. But we have here, as well as in other ancient races, the paradox that in most Semitic states, along with the deities with whom the national worship was mainly associated, other gods were often recognized and honoured. In other words, we find here not only a popular but a state polytheistic system, whose complexity is bewildering and whose origin is somewhat obscure. There can be no doubt, however, about the underlying principles and ante-

cedent processes, and these may be understood without a special inquiry into the ultimate origin of polytheistic worship. The beginning was made in the growth of local cults. Each community, in the first place, came by imperceptible degrees to promote to the rank of gods certain of the beneficent demons which form the object of primitive fear and reverence, or the transfigured ghosts of buried ancestors or of departed tribal heroes. Next, for various reasons, but chiefly, we may presume, from motives of gratitude for favours granted in answer to prayer, one of the gods was exalted above the rest and gradually promoted to be the patron deity of the community. As the rudimentary state developed, surviving the shock of war, aggrandizing itself continually, and consolidating its internal resources, this tutelary god became invested with a still greater prestige; and though the divinity of the deities of rival nations was not disputed, he was held to be unquestionably pre-eminent above them all. Thus we find Melḳart among the Phœnicians (whose very name, "King of the City," suggests the history of his election), Milcom among the Ammonites, Chemosh among the Moabites, Rimmon (Hadād) in Damascus, Nebo in Babylon, Asshur in Assyria. But in addition to these supremely honoured local deities, there were others which may be called ethnical divinities, whose worship was perpetuated by all the leading families of the race. Thus there were among the Semites the male and female personifications of the powers of nature, Baal and Ishtar (Ashtoreth), whose worship was established among all the tribes before their division. The result of such a duality was that, as among the Canaanites, the cult of Baal might largely supersede that of the local gods; or, as in Babylon and Assyria, it might be kept up concurrently with that of other deities; or it might be continued under the name of a different god, whose attributes were so similar to those of Baal that they were confounded in the popular mind and the two deities were merged into one. This may serve to explain

in most cases the rise and growth of the worship of single national gods.

§ 60. The multiplicity of deities obtaining in some portions of the Semitic world is to be accounted for by this consideration: adherence to a certain god being an indication of national unity and simplicity of origin, the worship of a number of deities within the same state is a token of political complexity and of a fusion of communities. Thus the bewildering syncretism of the Babylonian and Assyrian pantheons corresponds exactly to the fortunes of those countries, where endless changes had taken place in the political relations of the constituent elements of the state. We may contrast with this the simplicity of the cults of the nations of the West-land. Yet even here the syncretism of Jehovah and Baal suggests to us the possibility and naturalness of federations of gods, where two or more communities intermingle with one another. From anything like a multiform syncretism Syria and Palestine were preserved simply by the fact of the long-continued independence of their many petty nations. On the other hand, since extension by conquest was the rule in Semitic political history, the huge pantheon of the Assyrians with Asshur at the head indicates the forcible annexation of a large number of communities by the state of which Asshur was the national god.

§ 61. We can now perceive how throughout the Semitic realm it was a principle, grounded in the habits and beliefs of the race and universally recognized, that the predominance of any one community over another involved the superior rank of the national god of the more powerful state. Hence the worship and status of the vanquished deity might be degraded even to obliteration by his abasement beneath his successful rival. In short, a contest between two communities involved, or rather implied, a contest between their respective gods. In practice, however, the result of defeat and humiliation in war was not the absolute dethronement of the unfortunate divinity, or

the abolition of his worship. Apart from the obvious political considerations which interfered to prevent this, there operated above all the belief above alluded to, that the land itself, and even each physical division of it, — that is, the very soil itself (see 2 K. v. 17),—had its own proper god, and that his recognition and service were an indispensable condition of prosperity to its inhabitants. Practically, then, it was the general rule that each conquered nation, whether allowed to remain in vassalage or incorporated into the empire of the conqueror, continued to retain the worship of its own deities with, of course, the acknowledgment of the superior power and sanctity of the gods who had proved their pre-eminence by their victories. This explains, for example, the occurrence in the cuneiform inscriptions of long lists of gods worshipped in various portions of the Assyrian dominions, along with the names of the nationality or district where each was worshipped. There were but two conditions which were regarded as *ipso facto* putting an end to a local and national cult: the actual extinction of the people of the land, or its dispersion or deportation to distant regions, where it would be compelled to "serve other gods." It was its religious bearing which gave to this drastic and far-reaching policy of breaking up and transplanting rebellious nations its chief terrors in the hands of the Assyrians. To put the whole matter briefly: religion was the chief means of perpetuating distinct nationality, as it formed and fixed the bonds of union among clans and tribes and growing states; and when the military principle came to determine the permanent and perhaps higher political order in each empire which it created, religion still limited and classified the elements of the population, which would otherwise have been fused into one homogeneous people. Fidelity to the national gods, their rites, and their sanctuaries, was synonymous with patriotism; and with the entire crushing out of nationality in any form there came the obliteration of the national worship. Thus

for instance, the old religion became extinct in Samaria, because the priests had been deported after the destruction of the city, doubtless with a view to preventing the revival of patriotic feeling among the remaining inhabitants; and it was only because the foreign colonists found it necessary to learn "the manner of the god of the land" (cf. § 58) that the discredited cult was reintroduced, and this was permitted to be done only under the meanest possible auspices (2 K. xvii. 27 ff.). So also the worship of Jehovah was impossible to the poor people of the land who were left in Judah after the final deportation under Nebuchadrezzar, without the temple or the priesthood or any other of the symbols of the religion of Israel; while after the return, even the erection of an altar as the first step in religious rehabilitation, was sufficient to put heart and hope into the feeble band of patriots (Ezra iii. 3).

§ 62. Such in barest and most imperfect outline were the genius and practice of the ancient Semites in the supreme indivisible sphere of religion and politics. It is most instructive for the purposes of this inquiry to supplement what has just been said by noting how the true religion, as professed in ancient Israel, diverged from the general type. It is significant that even when it was most imperfectly understood and practised, its votaries signalized its inherent superiority to all other forms of religion by ignoring, in their fidelity and devotion to it, the principles universally accepted by their race and in their time. Change of place and circumstances, which among the rest of the Semites worked havoc with the national beliefs and customs, did not compel the wandering tribes of the Hebrews to discard Jehovah. The settlement in a new country indeed brought about the inevitable syncretism of faith and worship; and it might seem, according to Semitic analogy (§ 58), as though even in spite of military inferiority the local religion would gain the day; yet in the long contest between Jehovah and "the god of the land" Baal was finally overthrown.

Even a casual and so to speak incidental movement in a rude unenlightened community illustrates the persistence and tenacity of the faith of Israel. It was genuinely Semitic that the tribe of Dan in their northern migration should make their settlement under the auspices of religion; but it was truly Israelitish that they should take their own priest with them and introduce into their new home their own ancestral worship (Jud. xvii., xviii.). To pass over intervening illustrations, the convincing proof of the unique character and standing of the religion of the Hebrews is afforded by its fate during and after the long Babylonish captivity. As has been said (§ 61), deportation and exile were intended to, and actually did in other instances, effect the annihilation of the national religion. But the faith of Israel was stronger than the genius of Semitism; it overcame the cramping, stifling influences of its habitual environment; it broke with the traditions of the race, and even with the bias of its own inveterate habit, and returned from its long banishment out of Jehovah's land stronger, more earnest, and purer than ever before.

§ 63. In singular and yet most significant correspondence with the religious superiority of Israel over its kindred, is the fact that the Hebrew monarchy was the only one of the Semitic communities which realized anything like the true idea of a nation. In spite of its limitations, its remains of tribal rudeness and barbarism, its internal troubles, its frequent disloyalty to its theoretic ideal, the united kingdom, as well as its legitimate successor the kingdom of Judah, had still within it the main element of a durable nation — a degree of individual freedom, a sense of justice and of equal rights for all, elsewhere unknown, and a steady outlook towards a wider national future and a boundless destiny. They were a "people," as no other nation was, because they were and knew themselves to be, "the people of the living God." Nor should we forget that this very form of a "nation," into

which this people was providentially moulded, was the only one which could conserve the spirit of their great traditions and form the depository as well as the perpetuating agency of truths vital to the welfare of humanity. Apart from the question of monotheism as contrasted with polytheism, of a soul-elevating religion as contrasted with degrading idolatries, it must be admitted that the Hebrew nation itself was constituted after the only fashion that was possible to a state which should subserve the great ends for which it was organized. A single huge city of the old Canaanitic Mesopotamian or Babylonian type, or the fluctuating confederacies of the Phœnician towns with their aristocracy of wealth, or the heterogeneous empires of the Assyrians and Chaldæans, sustained only by the force and energy which had created them, could never have become the outward vehicle for the transmission and perpetuation of the moral and spiritual truths which were to reorganize the world into one people whose God is the Lord. Such a mission was, and could only be, assigned to the nation of Israel, insignificant as was its territory and its political influence among the peoples of the earth (cf. § 53).

§ 64. It has incidentally appeared in the foregoing review of the political and religious characteristics of the ancient Semites that the three representative systems of government prevailing among them were respectively those of the Assyrian and Chaldæan empires, the Phœnician commercial cities with their colonies, and the Hebrew commonwealth or nation. It should here be added that these were also the three communities of most importance to the world, each in its own special way. This does not belittle the part played by the Aramæans, whose services consisted in acting as carriers and intermediaries between the East and the West, and as bearers of civilization far and wide from the Tigris to the shores of the Ægean. Their lack of corporate unity on anything like a large scale and of distinctive outstanding political and social

institutions left them outside of the class of world-moving peoples. Turning now to the three leading divisions, and looking at their characteristic endowments and the parts assigned to each of them by Providence, we cannot but be impressed by their several achievements, so vast and far-reaching were they in their range and consequences.

§ 65. To the ancient Babylonians must be awarded the merit of having made the beginnings in exact science, which, when conveyed westward by the Aramæans were given over to the still more gifted and practical Greeks for the use of coming ages. And even if it must be said of their astronomical observations which, five thousand years ago, they carried to a high degree of accuracy, that they were made primarily in the interest of a most superstitious system of astrology, that does not detract from its usefulness or ultimate importance to mankind. Nor can love of science be denied to them as the first geographers, chronologers, and grammarians of the world. What they dreamed of and realized in the way of foreign conquest we pass by here, because in this they were so far exceeded, during most of their common history, by their more vigorous offshoot, the Assyrians. In this people we see an extraordinary development of the military spirit and of the lust of power. Retaining and cultivating of Babylonian science and literature only what subserved their material ends, they made it their aim to found and perpetuate an empire which should control all the internal trade of the Semitic lands and lay their foreign commerce under tribute, which should subject to themselves all peoples of the Semitic realm, the nations beyond to the north and east, and the empire of the Nile itself. And what they succeeded in doing is, from the standpoint of previous achievement, wonderful indeed, however much we may be repelled by the records of their deeds of cruelty, and of their pride and rapacity. For a period as long as that during which Rome ruled its own greater world,

they maintained their control over the prosperous and fertile lands that stretched from the mountains of Persia to the Mediterranean, and broke up the confederacies of the northern nations by a force of energy unparalleled as it was remorseless.

§ 66. No less wonderful and far-reaching were the achievements of the Phœnicians. They did their share by maritime as the Aramæans did by inland communication, in conveying the products of Babylonian and Mesopotamian culture to the Greeks, and thus to the later European world. But this was only an incidental part of their larger services to civilization and human progress. They penetrated unknown seas with an enterprise and courage unsurpassed by Columbus or Drake. They circumnavigated Africa. They worked mines in Spain and England. If the Assyrians conceived the idea of a universal empire, they with more originality and success formed and realized the idea of a world-wide commerce. Semites though they were, they developed a trade and acquired a knowlege of the earth and man that were truly Indo-European, as their wide-spread sails (Ezek. xxvii. 7; Is. lx. 8 f.) bore them from the coasts of Cornwall and Sierra Leone in the West, along the stormy Atlantic and through the Pillars of Hercules to their home ports in the mart of nations; from the coasts of Malabar in the East to the Red Sea ports, which they alone knew how to utilize; or through the Persian Gulf to the cities of Babylonia. They taught international trade and navigation to the Greeks and then to the Romans. When the greatest of the Romans brought the seaboard and the islands of the Atlantic within reach of the Mediterranean by overland routes, he was but building on the knowledge put at the disposal of the civilized world by the Phœnicians a thousand years before. If their great commercial colonies finally succumbed to the power of Aryan nations, it must be remembered that the surviving empires only reached their gigantic stature by climbing on the shoulders

of these Semitic adventurers. Not only were the Phœnicians the originators of a world-wide trade and of a far-sighted commercial policy unrivalled in ancient times, but their maritime supremacy has been the most enduring known to men. Even that of Britain has not yet lasted one-fourth as long.

§ 67. It remains now to sum up the services of the Hebrews as the third of the most important branches of the North-Semitic family. When we try to say in what way the Hebrews were a "great" people, we must use the term in an entirely different sense from that in which we employ it of the kindred nations. They were great simply in this, that they were the people through whom the true religion was revealed to men, and in whose lives and teachings it was illustrated for the saving and guiding of our race. Compared with the Phœnicians, their near neighbours, they were circumscribed and provincial. Of the business[1] and politics, and natural features and products of the great far-stretching outside world, they for many ages learned almost entirely at second-hand from the travelling merchants that passed along their borders. Of mechanical or constructive skill they had but little. Stately buildings were rare among them, and these were erected of materials drawn from Phœnician territory and under the superintendence of Phœnician architects. In their most prosperous times they were poor as compared with the "traffickers who were among the honourable of the earth," and their meagre occasional foreign trade was done in Phœnician bottoms. A Tyrian chronicler, in referring to Israel and Judah, would think them worthy of mention only because they furnished slaves for their galleys and foreign plantations, and "little dues of wheat and wine and oil" for their tables (Ezra iii. 7). But

[1] The absence of foreign trade was not, however, due to the lack of the commercial instinct. Whenever they became strong politically they went into commerce with a will (cf. § 206, 231, 254, 269), even when they had to employ Phœnician ships and seamen.

their very poverty and simplicity were the conditions of their elevation above and deliverance from the moral and religious conceptions and practices of the Canaanites. The introduction of foreign art (Is. ii. 16) as well as of foreign luxury were symptoms and forerunners of decline in that which alone could make them strong and enduring.

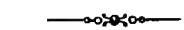
§ 68. Still more striking and significant is the contrast between Israel and the dual civilization of Babylonia and Assyria. To the Assyrian annalists the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are petty communities, easily reduced to submission, and only mentioned as among the minor principalities of the West which had to be chastised for refusal of tribute or destroyed for final revolt, and whose ambassadors bearing propitiatory gifts added another to the hundreds of scenes depicting the triumph of the "king of kings" among the sculptures that adorned his gorgeous palaces. If their chief fortresses were of consequence, it was because they furnished a safeguard against Egypt and a vantage-ground for the control of the great coast-road with its traffic, in whose profits the Hebrews themselves could not participate. During the times of Assyrian supremacy Israel was divided and shorn of its strength, often dependent on foreign alliances for self-preservation against much lesser foes than Assyria, without prestige among the nations, diplomatically weak and territorially insignificant. Even at the height of its power it was only relatively great in the worldly sense, in comparison with the petty neighbouring states of Palestine and Syria. At no time did its territory, including tributary lands, extend to more than one-twentieth of the widest limits of the Assyrian or Chaldæan empire; and Judah, before Sinacherib's invasion, — the crisis that best indicated the source of its real greatness alongside of its political inferiority, — was less than one hundred times as large as the realm of the warrior king who wasted and depopulated the country up to the gates of Jerusalem.

§ 69. Again, as compared with Babylonia of the old

or of the new era, how petty, how narrow, and how uninteresting does Israel appear! With none of that artistic taste and talent to which the exhumed cities of the Lower Euphrates perpetually bear witness in behalf of their ancient inhabitants, with no industrial activity, with no scientific notions or inventions, the insignificance of Israel would seem to be almost ridiculous for a nation that has been so much in men's thoughts and on men's lips since it vanished from its stage of action. The literature of Israel, too, is small over against the comparatively little which has been so far brought to light illustrating the many-sided intellectual activity of the dwellers by the Rivers. It is also narrower in range. But though practically devoted to but one subject, it rises higher, and is finer and truer and more profound and more human than the literature of Babylon or of any other people in the old world or in the new. If on this single point of intellectual and moral achievement Israel has surpassed its conquerors, it is just because the literature of Israel was so one-sided or, of you will, so narrow; and because it was at the same time the expression of that which was at once the strength and the glory of Israel — its hardly won divinely imbued religious faith, its knowledge and recognition of the living God. Surely the people whom alone he knew of all the families of the earth is, in this very contrast to its despoilers, the very best proof which the history of the nations affords, that God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty.

Book II

THE BABYLONIANS



CHAPTER I

EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF BABYLONIA, THEIR ENVIRONMENT, AND THEIR CIVILIZATION

§ 70. We shall now endeavour to get a clear and exact idea of the relations sustained by Israel to those other states of Western Asia that modified or determined its fortunes. It is, therefore, in order to pass from the general survey of their political, social, and religious characteristics which has been so far occupying our attention, to an inquiry into the course of their historic development. The first essential to a right apprehension of our subject is a just historical perspective. The student who makes, for example, the Old Testament his starting-point, and to whom the narrative there given of the origin and development of the Hebrew nation comprises almost the total of his knowledge of the Semitic peoples, as well as the centre of his historical interest, must become familiar with the fact that the national existence of Israel is ancient only in a relative sense. Compared with the history of Athens or Rome or Persia, its earlier portions may be called fairly ancient, but in comparison with the rise of the Babylonian kingdoms, it is rather to be called modern. The obscurity that involves the early times of Western Asia is first pierced by the light that breaks in

upon it from the East, the scene of man's creation and the seat of the earliest civilizations; and though the rays are rare and scattered, and reach only a little way, leaving long tracts of time unillumined, yet we know that three empires, each of them lasting for hundreds of years, had risen, flourished, and fallen in Babylonia, while the rest of Western Asia was as yet politically unorganized, and before the the ancestor of the Israelites had left his native Ur of the Chaldees. It will be most proper then to begin by giving an outline account of early Babylonia, leaving untouched for a time the western region which contained the Land of Promise.

§ 71. The Babylonians were thus the first of the Semites to enter the arena of history, and they did so by virtue of the civilization to which they attained in and through their settlements on the Lower Euphrates and Tigris. Let us look at the great river system terminating in this memorable plain.[1] The Euphrates is formed by the union of two main branches, one of which rises near Erzerum in Armenia and follows a southwesterly course, while the other and longer, rising one hundred and twenty miles east, at the foot of Mount Ararat, runs nearly due west. The large river, the resultant of their union, after winding deviously among the most easterly peaks of Taurus, keeps up a southwesterly course in its descent from the great mountain range till at a point eighty miles from the Mediterranean Sea it turns suddenly southward and enters upon a second stage of its course which we may properly call the Mesopotamian. A thought here suggests itself spontaneously: How different would the history of the world have been if Northern Syria instead of rising had declined from Taurus to the coast, and the life-giving waters of the River had been diverted into the sea, away from the Mesopotamian plain

[1] Cf. Art. "Mesopotamia" in Encycl. Brit. by Sir Henry Rawlinson; Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 1–16; Hommel, GBA. p. 180 ff.

and the Babylonian lowlands! After this decisive change of direction it moves southward for about seventy miles, gradually decreasing its speed and losing the character of a mountain stream. It next bends suddenly eastward, and then flows southeast by east, with two main deflections in a due easterly direction, the latter of which brings it within twenty-five miles of the Tigris. During the first third of this Mesopotamian section, it passes through cultivated and populated territory, but as it moves southeastward it becomes more and more a desert stream bordering here and there on pasture grounds to which it lends fertility, and having on its banks small trading towns at long intervals, and more frequent encampments of shepherds. In the old days, the upper portion at least, on the borders of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, was far richer and more populous and better cultivated than at present. While yet among the mountains, both of the branches of the river and the single stream receive many feeders, but after leaving the highlands its waters are augmented by only three tributaries of any consequence, the last of which, the Chaboras (חבור, Assyr. *Ḫabur*), coming due south, bisecting the great Mesopotamian plain, formed, even in ancient times, the practical limit of the cultivated area. Naturally, it gradually becomes an alluvial stream as it proceeds along the plain, and when it approaches the Tigris, its volume, in spite of its tributaries, is much smaller than near the mountains. The last section is the shortest but most important. From the point of close approach to the Tigris opposite Baghdad, it runs for a time a parallel course with that river, the smallest interval being only twenty-two miles. It flows at first southeasterly, and then again nearly easterly, till it joins the Tigris about fifty miles from the Persian Gulf. Its total course, according to Chesney, is 1780 miles. In the whole lower part of its course it receives no tributary, and loses water steadily, not only through absorption by the soil, but through irrigating canals which branch off from

it. The Tigris is a shorter and swifter stream of 1146 miles in length, and averaging in velocity two yards in a second. It rises not far from Diarbekr, on the sloping plateau formed by the junction of the two prolongations of the Taurus Range known anciently as Masius and Niphates, and only three miles from the Euphrates towards the end of the mountain course of the latter. It flows easterly till it breaks through Mount Masius and enters the modern Kurdistan. In passing Mosul (Nineveh) it has a southerly direction which it retains for two-thirds of the remainder of its journey, with, however, in general a slight easterly inclination. After its parallel course with the Euphrates, it trends eastward till the sister streams are ninety miles apart. Then they converge by slow degrees till their final union is accomplished mainly by means of the eastward sweep of the Euphrates. After this the common stream moves on sluggishly for about sixty-five miles further to the Persian Gulf. In the days of the ancient Babylonian empires the two rivers entered the Gulf by separate channels, the soil formed by the deposits of these rivers and of the smaller streams descending from Elam having encroached enormously upon the sea (Par. 174 ff.).

§ 72. As the chief of the factors of ancient civilization, it is difficult to overrate the importance of these rivers in their twofold use for irrigation and navigation. Of the two, the Tigris is the more navigable. As it skirts mountainous territory during the greater part of its descent, it has more numerous tributaries than the Euphrates, and though narrower, it is deeper, being better held together by its banks. Its waters also are less absorbed by the soil during most of its course, and it is less drained by canals. Accordingly, it sends a larger volume of water into the common estuary, and bears vessels of greater size, the peculiar construction of which, in Assyrian times, is exhibited on sculptured monuments. In addition, the Euphrates has the disadvantage of numerous shallows and

sand-banks. But this deficiency in its navigability was made up by the digging of numerous canals from one important centre of traffic to another, branching off from the Euphrates, and either ultimately joining it again, or conducted over to the Tigris. By this means the whole country, from the point of approach of the rivers southwards, was covered with a network of canals, many of them of first-class importance in inland trade, and all of them of the utmost utility in irrigation. The unrivalled fertility of the soil of Babylonia was the result not only of the quality of the soil, but of the superadded benefits of the colossal system of drainage and canalization which was begun by the ingenuity of the first civilized inhabitants. Of the natural elements of fertility, the Euphrates contributed by far the larger share. From the early part of its course it brings down large quantities of limestone washings and other detritus, which it deposits all along its winding way through the Mesopotamian plain. The spring and autumn inundations, carrying up the water far above the normal height of the river bank, distribute these waters over the desert, where it mingles with the sand of the former seashore. The resulting formations of clay, mud, and gypsum, comprising elements of the richest soil, are found in such profusion in Babylonia that in the days of ancient civilization it was the most fruitful portion of the whole earth with the possible exception of the valley of the Nile. It was roughly reckoned by Herodotus to equal in productiveness half the rest of Asia. But this wonderful fertility was not gained from the land as nature had formed it. The result of the inundations was that immense pools of water and long stretches of marshy ground (Is. xxxv. 7, xlii. 15 *al.*) were formed, rendering a large portion even of the immediate basin of the Great River a barren waste. Not only by the canals just mentioned, but by large reservoirs, such as that close to Sippar, into which Cyrus turned the course of the Euphrates before the capture of Babylon, the redundant waters were drained

off or stored up for distribution through smaller channels in the times of low water in the river. Some of the great canals conveyed the superfluous water to the Persian Gulf, and others to the Tigris, whose deeper bed and higher banks could retain the additional supply. Lower down on the Tigris, again, where the soil and river-bed were more like those of the Euphrates, the overflowing water was conducted back by similar canals to the depleted bed of the latter. Thus it is not difficult to understand how such epithets as "the life of the land," "the bringer of plenty," were applied by the ancient inhabitants to the two Rivers.

§ 73. Such, in general, was the character of the country and soil of Lower Mesopotamia and Babylonia. The description may serve at the same time to define the limits of ancient Babylonia. The great system of canalization, which can even yet be in large measure traced on the surface of the country, virtually covered the whole of the territory included between the basins of the rivers and stretching from a little north of Baghdad (or Lat. $33\frac{1}{2}°$ N.) for about two hundred and forty miles to the Gulf, and corresponding nearly to the modern Irak-Arabi. Such was ancient Babylonia proper, the greater portion of which, or the highly cultivated territory, naturally fell under the dominion of the most powerful city (§ 35), which during most of the historical period was the city of Babylon or Babel. In remoter times other cities, as we shall see, wielded, in succession, an important though less extensive sway. But during the whole of the ancient periods until the times of the Assyrian conquest and the later Chaldæan empire, the extent of the consolidated monarchy was very various, depending mainly upon the ability of the nomadic tribes which occupied the grazing grounds along the rivers, and the semi-barbarous principalities bordering on the Gulf, to maintain their independence of the aggressive central power. Very variable, also, in the period of Babylonian independence, was the

northern boundary between Babylonia and Assyria, according as the former or the latter kingdom happened to be predominant. We shall only add in this connection that the region from the point of closest convergence of the Rivers southwards, is, according to Genesis iii., the scene of the creation of man, the country of Eden.

§ 74. The dwelling-place of that great community which was most closely allied to that of the Babylonians lay much farther north, upon the banks of the Tigris. Assyria was a name used by the ancients in the vaguest fashion, sometimes including Babylonia, and sometimes being made to extend to the Euphrates westward, or even to the Mediterranean. The want of definiteness is due to the fact that the name was variously applied by the Assyrians themselves. In its widest extent it included the territorial acquisitions of the later empire; or again, it included the nucleus of the great dominion, that is, the kingdom of Assyria proper; or finally, it was applied to the city from which the monarchy took its name, and which was the starting-point of the Assyrian nation. The city of Asshur, however, lay near the southern extremity of Assyria proper, and being the settlement in which the colonists from Babylonia first established themselves as a distinct nationality, it gave its name to the whole subsequent expansion of the people. The district which we have just called the Assyrian kingdom, as distinguished from the Assyrian empire, was a compact little territory on the upper part of the Middle Tigris. The Lower Zab was regarded as its southern boundary; and it extended thence northward as far as the mountains of Kurdistan (Mount Zagros). It was formed principally of settlements which grew up in the fertile valleys of the tributaries that flow from the mountains southward and westward into the Tigris. The marked difference between the middle course of the Euphrates and that of the Tigris has already been pointed out. The fact that the latter river skirts the mountains during this portion of its jour-

ney accounts for the number and fulness of its feeders, as contrasted with the scanty contributions received by the Euphrates. Numerous tributaries, large and small, of which the principal was the Upper Zab, issuing from spurs of the Zagros Range, furnished those elements of fertility and attractiveness which drew the people of Asshur further north from their earliest seats to their permanent settlement. It was only the eastern side of the river which was thus highly favoured, and but little of the west side was included in the land of Asshur. The country thus defined was about one hundred and twenty miles long by eighty broad, and two-thirds of it was hilly or mountainous. Its productiveness was very great, justifying the praise bestowed upon it by the legate of Sinacherib (2 K. xviii. 32), by Asshurbanipal, the last of its great kings,[1] and by classical writers. The kernel of the country was the complex of cities of which, in the imperial days of Assyria, Nineveh was the chief, and which are described in Gen. x. 12 as "the great city."

§ 75. Reference was made above (§ 71) to the River Ḫabur (Chaboras) as the last of the tributaries of the Euphrates. The territory lying between it and the Great River westward was the seat of the third of the great Semitic settlements which grew up within the system of the two Rivers. This is Mesopotamia proper, or Aram Naharaim, or Padan-Aram of the book of Genesis, a country whose history, if it could be written, would rival in interest that of almost any portion of Asia. Of this region, the district lying between the next tributary to the west, the River Baliḫ (Belich), and the Euphrates was of chief importance, as being the meeting place of the great trade routes that led from Babylonia and Assyria in the east, Asia Minor and Cappadocia in the northwest and north, the Hettite communities in the near neighbourhood over the River, and Damascus, Phœnicia, Egypt, and Arabia in the remoter south and southwest.

[1] V R. 1, 41 ff.

The principal inhabitants of this territory were the Aramæans. Their chief city from very ancient times was Ḫarrān (the "High-way" city, Haran), one of the most busy, populous, and frequented towns of all antiquity. This region was the converging point of the northwestward migrations of the Aramæans, and contained the immemorial seats of their civilization "beyond the River." As the least capable of all the Semites of political unification and expansion, they founded here no extensive empire. They had, however, petty kingdoms along the southern and eastern bends of the Euphrates and the Lower Belich, and they formed, at least in historic times, the chief element in the population of the great commercial cities. It is impossible to treat the history of any of their communities separately. Combinations such as that which subjected a part of Palestine in the twelfth century B.C. (§ 188) were extremely rare. After the rise of the Assyrian power, one settlement after another became tributary or annexed to that empire, adding greatly to its wealth, and giving it the central position of vantage among the tribes of Western Asia. The population, however, remained permanently Aramæan in its controlling elements, so that even for several centuries after Christ it was possible to maintain an Aramæan kingdom with Edessa as the capital. Flourishing towns, of which Nisibis was the chief, lay to the east of the River settlement, and these owed their importance to their position along the trade route between the Tigris and Euphrates.

§ 76. In a broad sense the total history of the settlements on the Tigris and Euphrates may be called Babylonian. Assyria was an offshoot of the Southern community, and its history, viewed as a part of the great drama enacted in the cradle-land of humanity, must be looked upon as an episode in a much longer and more eventful story, which began two thousand years before the founding of Nineveh, and reached its catastrophe after

Assyria was blotted out from among the nations. Moreover, the main motives and forces of the action were drawn from Babylonia, where also took place the final *dénouement*. Thus there might seem to be a certain justification in treating the history of both regions as one great whole. A closer view, however, shows this to be impossible. The colonists who settled on the Tigris soon established their independence of the mother land, and thenceforward to the close of their national existence they were practically a separate people, often, indeed, holding the parent state in subjection, and even forming it into an Assyrian province. True, there was always in both states the consciousness of identity of origin, of similarity of institutions, and the possession of a common literature; and the later Babylonian kings, after the fall of Nineveh, regarded the famous monarchs of Assyria as their predecessors in the regal succession.[1] The same feeling of kinship led to the attempt to construct a common history of both nations in the early Assyrian times. But this work, compiled for diplomatic purposes, was naturally little more than a series of synchronisms; and such must be the essential character of any modern essay with the same intent.

§ 77. The Semitic régime in Babylonia lasted apparently at least four thousand years. It may be divided into two main portions, — the history of separate principalities with one city after another dominating the rest, and the history of a united monarchy under the hegemony of the city of Babylon. The first great period may be roughly divided at points where the cities of the southern part of the whole country and those of the northern form two separate communities each under the lead of its most powerful city. The second great division, that of the supremacy of the city of Babylon, may be separated into four periods or stages: (1) a period of independence; (2) a series of subjugations by foreign non-Semitic tribes; (3) next a long term of rivalry with Assyria, ending in

[1] V R. 64 col. II, 43 ff. (Nabonidus).

subjugation to the latter; and (4) finally, a brief term of unparalleled power and splendour under the new empire of the Chaldæans, giving place to rapid decline and the conquest by Cyrus, — an event which at the same time abolished the rule and rôle of the Northern Semites.

§ 78. The history of Assyria extends over about fifteen hundred years. While much briefer than that of Babylonia, it is also less chequered by national humiliation and foreign domination. It is difficult to divide it, so uniform (and one may add, so monotonous) was its general character, and so consistent and unvarying the policy of its rulers to subdue and spoil all the nations (Isa. x. 7; Nah. ii. 11 f.; iii. 16 f.). It is possible, however, to distinguish three periods of very unequal length. The first of these includes the early struggle for existence and independence. The second is marked by alternating successes and failures in carrying out the traditional policy of foreign conquest, while, as regards the relations with the mother country, there prevailed an active rivalry, breaking out as the state grew older into frequent hostilities, in which the younger empire was usually victorious. The third division, beginning in 745 B.C., is introduced by the adoption of a new and thorough-going policy of subjugation, and is distinguished by an almost unbroken series of successes till the summit of power was reached. This was followed a few years later by a sudden collapse under the force of a combination of two new nations, the Median and the Chaldæan, the one the first of the Aryans, the other the last of the Semites to rule in Western Asia.

§ 79. The rise of the Semites in Babylonia, like all other origins, is involved in obscurity. The earliest authentic records, drawn as they are from their own monuments, reveal this gifted race as already in possession of a high degree of civilization, with completed systems of national religion, a language already long past its formative period, and a stage of advancement in art that testifies

to the existence of a wealthy class of taste and leisure, to whom their nomadic ancestry must have been little more than a vague tradition. The same records also show this Semitic people to have extended their sway in Western Asia as far as the Mediterranean coastland many centuries before Phœnicians or Hebrews or Hettites came before the world in any national or corporate form. Questions of deep interest arise in connection with such facts as these. It is asked: Did the Babylonian Semites develop the elements of their civilization alone, or did they inherit that of another race? Were they the first people to reclaim and cultivate the marshy, reedy[1] plains of the lower River region, and make them the garden of the world? Did they invent for themselves the arts of writing, of measuring and marking off terrestrial and celestial spaces, of navigation and elaborate architecture? Did they discover, unaided from without, the first principles of mathematics, lay the foundations of the science of astronomy, reckon time by long and short periods, and devise their own system of chronology? The answer to most of these questions should apparently be affirmative, as far as our present light enables us to answer at all. From their own records at least we get no hint that the Semitic Babylonians were indebted to any other race for any of these attainments. They tell us, indeed, of tribes and nations such as the Elamites and Kasshites, who in later or more remote days became involved with them politically. But what we can learn of these peoples shows them to have been far behind the Semites in civilization; and to assume for an extinct people of a race kindred to them an earlier stage of more advanced culture would be without warrant. In the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, we are entitled to assume that the same race who in historical times gave proof of high mental endowments

[1] Cf. the ideographic name of Šumer (§ 110) *Ki-en gi*, i.e. "region of reeds."

reached their unique level of intellectual attainment by a process of self-education.

§ 80. A contrary opinion is held by many scholars of high rank. I refer to the well-known theory that the Semitic Babylonians acquired their civilization from another people who preceded them in the occupation and cultivation of the country. This hypothetical race is named Sumerian from the term *Šumer*, generally, but erroneously, supposed to be a designation of Southern Babylonia (see § 110 f.). With this in the Inscriptions is coupled the name of Akkad, another geographical term properly connoting Northern Babylonia. This appellation has given rise to the name "Akkadian," used by most of these modern authorities to designate a supposed subdivision of the same people, speaking a dialect of the main Sumerian language. It is impossible here to go into this vexed subject at length. The general bearing of the evidence and a brief estimate of its value will, however, have to be given, as the question is so fundamental and far-reaching. The most plausible evidence offered is partly palæographic and partly linguistic. It is claimed that the cuneiform system of writing historically employed by the Babylonians is not of such a kind as Semites would have devised for a language so peculiar in structure as theirs; more particularly that the sounds of Semitic Babylonian are not adequately represented, and also not sufficiently distinguished by the phonetic signs of the cuneiform system. Further, it is asserted that the phonetic values of these same signs which, as being derived from ideograms, must have been originally words or names for things and ideas, do not represent Semitic Babylonian words, and therefore that they must have been vocables of another type of speech. Such an idiom must, of course, have been the one spoken by the inventors of the system of writing, who were consequently non-Semitic in race. Against these conclusions it may properly be urged, in the first place, that the cuneiform

alphabet (or syllable list) does as a matter of fact represent fully and distinguish fairly well the sounds peculiar to Semitic Babylonian, while on the other hand, if the theory be true, we have presented to us the astounding phenomenon of a language of an entirely different type of structure possessing virtually the same set of quite peculiar sounds distinctive of the Semitic family of speech. A somewhat similar phenomenon revealed in the ancient Egyptian language is generally explained on the assumption of a Semitic substratum in the people and civilization of the Nile Valley, particularly as actual linguistic affinities between the Semitic and Egyptian languages are not wanting; but no Sumerianist has as yet ventured to claim kinship with the Semitic for his linguistic foundling. As to the second argument, based on the phonetic values of these sound-signs, it has again, as a matter of fact, been proved that a very large proportion of them are modifications, in one form and another, of genuine Semitic Babylonian words, and the list of such identifications is being continually increased.

§ 81. Apparently more but really less formidable is the evidence adduced to prove the existence of an actual, consistent, organized non-Semitic language, of which the cuneiform signs were the original vehicle of expression. It happens that among the documents unearthed from out of the buried intellectual treasures of Babylonia and Assyria, a large number of word-lists are found giving a twofold, and sometimes a threefold, explanation of the cuneiform ideograms or word-signs, which were currently employed along with a phonetic system of writing in the same documents in all stages of the language. One of such sets of explanations consists of plain and easily recognized Semitic words, while the other set or sets are for the most part strange in sound and structure, and therefore supposed to be of foreign origin. But a close examination of these alleged foreign vocables shows that in many cases they are common Semitic words slightly

altered, and that in the majority of the remaining instances they are made up of actual or possible word-forms of the same idiom more or less disguised according to methods for the most part easily ascertainable. Again, one may cite, on the Sumerian side, the existence of a very large number of lengthy connected documents which at first sight seem to be composed in the same hypothetical idiom. Some of these are accompanied by an explanation (a supposed translation) in ordinary Semitic Babylonian, while others are without such an aid to their interpretation. But here also there are marks of Semitic handiwork both numerous and palpable. These compositions, whether of the supposed bilingual class or unilingual, are not only replete with such disguised Semitic words as have been just alluded to, but — what is far more significant — they abound in Semitic grammatical constructions and modes of thought, and that in the very oldest of the documents, belonging to a time when, it was once supposed by Sumerianists, no Semitic Babylonians existed at all.

§ 82. Subsidiary evidence of various kinds has been offered in support of the "Sumerian" theory, notably that afforded by a few small sculptured figures thought to represent the type of people who inhabited Babylonia before the incursion of the Semites. In the opinion of the highest authorities on the subject of ancient Babylonian art, there is nothing decisive in the form or expression of the features of these antique statuettes as to the race to which they belong, or to show that they were not Semitic like the other artistic remains of the country. The evidence adduced for the theory generally, such as it is, becomes also greatly weakened by the fact that the Semitic Babylonians never in any way speak of or indirectly allude to such a people as that whose existence is so strenuously contended for. Yet the assumed language, and the system of writing whose features furnish the only weighty arguments in support of the hypothesis, continued to be used

to the very latest ages of the Semitic occupation of Babylonia; and it is practically inconceivable that if the Semites acquired their culture from such an antecedent people and used their language for the ordinary purposes of life along with their own, no tradition, not even the name, of the great and influential race to whom they owed such a debt, and with whom they must have been long and closely associated, should have been preserved and recorded.

§ 83. The following considerations put briefly and broadly may help towards an elucidation of the problem. In the first place, since the system of writing was originally entirely ideographic and only gradually became phonetic, and that not consistently or universally, it is obvious that the documents written ideographically may as well be Semitic as foreign, or rather are much more likely to be of the former than of the latter kind. It would have been, of course, assumed on all hands that such compositions are Semitic, if it had not been for the discovery of the supposed foreign tongue; whereas now it is the fashion to maintain that the earliest records of Southern Babylonia, written, as they are, ideographically, are "Sumerian." The origin of the phenomenal language thus assumed is to be accounted for by the peculiar history of the changes from the ideographic to the phonetic mode of writing. The gradual transition from the old ambiguous system to the new method, with its constant striving after completeness, led to the invention of a set of explanatory terms, mainly drawn from rare and unfamiliar and obsolete words expressed by the ideograms.[1] This system was gradually expanded by an industrious and influential school of pedagogues and grammarians into an artificial language of considerable range of expression within the limits of its application. It came greatly into vogue in connection with compositions of a religious or mystical character, and was used occasionally for more

[1] The ideograms have, as a rule, more than one meaning.

general purposes. Again, as the explanation of the ideograms came to be a subject both of useful and curious study, their meanings were written down in vocabularies and glossaries both in the terms of the popular speech, and also in those of this more esoteric or, as it is sometimes called, "hieratic language." In this way we have to account for the "bilingual" word-lists.

§ 84. The Sumerian theory has played a great rôle in linguistic and ethnological research during the last twenty years. The general aspect of the supposed language led at once to its being classed with the agglutinative families of speech, and the inevitable "Turanian" conveniently opened its hospitable doors to receive a long-lost wanderer back into its ancient home. Elaborate attempts have been made to prove close relationship with the Finnotartaric group, especially with Turkish. Inasmuch, however, as all sound principles of linguistic science are disregarded in such endeavours, this special discovery has found little favour among the more sober supporters of the general theory. Far more serious is the reconstruction of ancient history and civilization made upon a Sumeriological basis. As it was supposed that the whole system of ideographic writing, with the distinct ideas it sets forth, as well as the various names for gods, religious institutions, ceremonies, laws, natural objects, products of art and manufacture, recorded in the supposed language, were of Sumerian origin, it was necessary to trace the rise and development of these pre-Semitic notions and the history of their adoption by the Semites. This has been done, in part at least, with great ingenuity and thoroughness, especially by three scholars, Lenormant, Sayce, and Hommel. The results reached are for their immediate purpose rendered unquotable by the doubt cast upon the soundness of the basal hypothesis; but the investigations have contributed incidentally to the enlargement of our knowledge of early Babylonian civilization, and may therefore be used with discrimination and caution.

§ 85. While we are thus obliged, until further light shall have been cast upon the subject, to assume that the earliest type of Babylonian culture was mainly of Semitic origin, it would be rash to assert that people of that race were the sole occupants of the lower River country in prehistoric times, or that they received no important contributions to their development from any outside races. There is nothing impossible in the assumption that the whole country drained by the Tigris and Euphrates south of the mountains may have been occupied by other tribes of men contemporaneously with the earliest Semitic settlers, and that they were gradually extruded by the latter. Such a hypothetical race may have been akin to the Elamites across the Tigris or the predecessors of the Aramæans in Mesopotamia proper. If such a people ever existed, they left no deep traces of their influence on the language of their victorious rivals — certainly not, at least, in Northern Babylonia, the seat of the earliest aggressive civilization (§ 88 ff.). Yet it is remarkable that while there are few of the current words of the Assyrian or Semitic Babylonian language which cannot be explained from native or cognate root-forms, many of the proper names, notably those of early kings and of gods, have a decidedly un-Semitic aspect. While, therefore, there seems little reason to believe that the civilization of the Semites of Babylonia as a whole was greatly affected by contact or intermingling with foreigners, it is not unreasonable to assume that some elements of their religion may have come from an outside source. The names of such deities, for example, as Maruduk, Nergal, and Ea are not very directly explainable as Semitic words. Many names of persons, being usually combinations of divine appellations, are equally difficult to derive from Semitic sources. At the same time it should be remembered that many of such difficulties are due to the fact that we are not sure in numerous cases that we have the right pronunciation of the ideograms, for it is in this style of writing

that proper names are usually expressed.[1] The same caution applies in some degree to the names of places, which appear often to be non-Semitic. Yet it must be confessed that the frequency of the names, which we know to be non-Semitic from the ascertained phonetic readings, seems to strengthen materially the plea that a people advanced beyond the nomadic stage preceded the Semites in the occupation of the country. This, however, is a precarious sort of evidence to put against the outstanding fact, on the other side, of the purity of the Babylonian language. Its speakers would certainly have borrowed from their teachers the words for the principal elements and appliances of their historical culture if they had been uplifted out of barbarism by the educative influences of a foreign people. Nor must it be overlooked that if we accept the Sumerian theory, according to which the religion of that people exercised an almost controlling influence upon the mind of the Semitic Babylonians, we must of necessity also believe that the former became the ruling power in the states that resulted from the conflicts and treaties of the rival races. This conclusion being manifestly out of the question, it only remains for us to assume it to be possible that an antecedent or contemporaneous people bore a small share with the Semites in the early development of the country, and that, as a result of their contact with the stronger race, they bequeathed to it some of the elements of the surviving religion, mythology, and popular superstition.

[1] Cf. the frank remarks of Jensen in KB. III, 1, p. 5.

CHAPTER II

BABYLONIA UNDER SEPARATE GOVERNMENTS

§ 86. THE early civilization of Babylonia had for its home the whole of that long elliptical peninsula included between the Rivers from their nearest approach at Baghdad south to the Persian Gulf. There were in the earliest recorded ages two main centres of dominion and culture, established at the point where the great streams converge at the north, and again at the corresponding point where after their separation they again approach at the south. These centres formed respectively the ruling kingdoms of what we may call in the vaguest fashion North and South Babylonia; but we have to conceive of each of them as being gradually built up in the immemorial Semitic fashion (§§ 35, 39) out of smaller city-states. Both the separate cities and the two aggregations just named had a long and chequered history before they became finally merged, about 2250 B.C., into one empire, with the city of Babylon at the head. Through various circumstances, especially from the fact that in South Babylonia more abundant ruins of ancient cities have been found than in the North, it has generally been supposed that the former region was the seat of the earliest civilization. The general facts about to be set forth will make this appear more than doubtful, and in any case to the northern section must be granted precedence in the consolidation of political power as well as in the perfecting of the chief elements of popular culture. Fortunately, we have at length some reliable data for determining the age of the oldest literary

and artistic monument of Northern Babylonia. As we listen intently for some message from these far-distant ages, we may hear what we may fairly call "the first syllable of recorded time" from the ruined city of Sippar on the Euphrates, the city of the Sun.

§ 87. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the veteran explorer of the antiquities of his native country, who had already borne an indispensable part in Sir Austen Layard's explorations in Assyria, was examining in 1881 the mound of Abu Habba on the Euphrates, thirty miles southwest of Baghdad, when he found, along with other valuable remains, two terra-cotta cylinders of the last native king of Babylon, Nabonidus, who reigned 555–538 B.C. In these Nabonidus relates his experience and success as an antiquarian and as a devotee of the national gods, in restoring their temples and in tracing their history from the earliest days. Knowing that the Temple of the Sun in Sippar had been originally founded by Narām-Sin, "king of Akkad," he sought long and diligently for the foundation-stone which none of his predecessors, not even Nebuchadrezzar the Great, had succeeded in discovering. It was found at last, eighteen cubits below the level of the ground, bearing the inscription of the founder, to whose genuineness Nabonidus himself testifies. He affirms, on one of his cylinders, that this stone and inscription had not been seen for thirty-two hundred years.[1] Reckoning back from 550 B.C., the presumable year of the discovery, we get 3750 B.C. as the approximate date of the building of the temple by Narām-Sin.

§ 88. There is no reasonable doubt that the reckoning made by the experts of Nabonidus was correct. Almost all chronological statements made in the inscriptions have been accepted by modern students as accurate, because they have usually been proved correct whenever a means of testing them has been available. Here it was evidently the intention to give the numbers approximately,

[1] V R. 64 col. II, 56 ff.

that is, as near as they could be reckoned with the data at hand. A mistake of half a century is the outside probable limit of error; at least the Babylonian chronologers meant it to be so understood. That they had a documentary basis for their calculation is hardly to be doubted. As we shall see, the religious traditions of Sippar were transferred to Babylon, and with them the history of the national cults. Now it lay in the very nature of temple-worship among a nation of astrologers like the Babylonians, that there should be a yearly notation of festivals and other great religious events, as well as of the duration of the reigns of the priestly kings. It is probable enough that in the numerous principalities of Southern Babylonia also, each with its centre of worship, such records were duly maintained from the earliest times of temple-service; but the frequent changes in dynasties and seats of government, and the precarious fortunes of the leading cities, are perhaps to be held responsible for the absence there of continuous *fasti*.[1] Yet in Erech, in 645 B.C., there was kept the record of the loss of one of the city deities to the Elamites 1635 years before (V R. 6, 107 ff.). With regard to the possibility of a scribal error in the notice about Narām-Sin, it is to be observed that his own and contemporary documents employ characters so archaic that a mistake in the thousands is out of the question,[2] while any error in the hundreds would be likely to affect the figures in the maximal rather than the minimal direction; that is, to increase the antiquity of the period in question.

§ 89. Narām-Sin, the devout founder of the Temple of the Sun in Sippar, thus immortalized by the latest king of Babylon, is called by Nabonidus "the son of Sargon." This Sargon is thus brought before our notice as among the oldest of known monarchs. We have other secondary sources of information respecting him, besides contemporary documents soon to be mentioned. The later notices form a combination of legend and historical fact of so

[1] Cf. Winckler, GBA. p. 51.

[2] Hommel, GBA. p. 309, note.

curious a character that it would be difficult to match it in all literature. An analysis of the material enables us, however, to ascertain fairly well what is authentic and what the work of the imagination. We have preserved to us a fragment of a lengthy narrative of his personal history, given under his own name.[1] This is specially interesting as reminding us in some of its features of the early life of Moses. Its unique character justifies the transference to our pages of the greater portion of it, which runs as follows: "I am Sargon the mighty king, the king of Akkad. My mother was of noble birth; my father I know not of, but my father's brother used to dwell in the highlands, and my native city was Azupiranu, which lies on the bank of the Euphrates. My mother of noble race conceived me and bore me in secret. She put me in a basket of *šūr*, and closed up the opening with bitumen. She cast me into the River, which did not flow over me [?]. The River carried me along to Akkī, the irrigator. Akkī, the irrigator, took me up. Akkī, the irrigator, reared me up to boyhood. Akkī, the irrigator, made me a gardener. While I acted as gardener, Ishtar showed me favour. Forty-five years I ruled over the black-haired race (*i.e.* the Semites)." In the following mutilated lines of the inscription he goes on to relate the achievements of his reign, among which he mentions the conquest of Dūr-il on the borders of Elam, and Dilmun the island-city in the Persian Gulf.

§ 90. This account, in the shape in which it has come to us, is not of contemporary production. It was very probably a copy made by Assyrian scribes of an ancient document found in the city of Akkad. As to its credibility, it may be said, in the first place, that the mythical character of the statements relating to the infancy of the hero do not put the whole narrative outside the limits of

[1] III R. 4 Nr. 7; KB. III, I. pp. 100–103; cf. Par. 208 f., Hommel, GBA. p. 302 f.

historical reality any more than the similar experiences recorded of Cyrus and other notable founders of empires. Indeed, the fact that the memory of Sargon was preserved in literature for long ages, and his deeds and name and fame emulated by another Sargon three thousand years later, is evidence of a well-founded tradition. As already indicated, the autobiography of this primeval hero was a fairly lengthy one, and the particularity with which the deeds of his manhood are recorded is evidence of their authenticity; while the story of his early days may be accounted for on the very natural supposition that (like the later Sargon) he was a *parvenu*, and that he gives himself an introduction to the world under the august auspices of divine direction and patronage so as to redeem his origin from the reproach of obscurity (cf. § 92). With regard to the history of his reign and that of his son, Narām-Sin, notices of some fulness have been preserved in a remarkable tablet of omens and presages.[1] This document gives notes of enterprises undertaken by the two monarchs according to favourable omens afforded by observation of the phases of the moon and her aspect in the several months of the year. It bears the signature of Asshurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), that is, it formed part of his library, which contained a great multitude of inscriptions relating to early times that his scribes had copied out. The narrative portions are written in the style of modern Assyrian, and abound in locutions characteristic of the annals of the later king himself. But the fulness of minute details and the mention of localities not known to later times seem to preclude the supposition that the whole work was a modern invention. Moreover, the very nature of the document, in which the motive is divided between the achievements of the two monarchs and the occasions or circumstances of their enterprises, is little favourable to the hypothesis of a wholesale fiction. On the other hand, the fact that the

[1] IV R. 34.

kings do not speak in the first person, as is customary in the royal annals, gives colour to the assumption, probable on all grounds, that the whole narrative was worked up for modern readers from contemporary notes preserved in the temple archives of the old dynasty of North Babylonia. Some of the matters reported are of the most unexpected character. Mention is made not only of conquests in Babylonia and Elam, but also of expeditions to Syria and Palestine, and over the sea to Cyprus. Sargon spent three years in reducing the West-land to submission and bringing it under one administration. With other achievements the ascent of Lebanon is recorded, made doubtless for the purpose of obtaining the valuable timber which from time immemorial grew upon that mountain range, and was so greatly coveted for building purposes by the monarchs of the East, far and near. He had already acquired, as we shall see, Southern Babylonia and the country along the west of the Persian Gulf; and as these conquests completed the circle of practicable enterprise, at least within the Semitic realm, he now claimed the title of "king of the four quarters of the world."[1]

§ 91. But for information concerning the ancient rulers of this cradle-land of humanity we are not confined to the second-hand testimony of later ages. Actual inscriptions have been recovered of the great Sargon himself, of his son Narām-Sin, and of other kings of Babylonia of the same period. They are very brief, and in themselves of little direct importance, but taken together with the other sources of information they enable us to get at least a partial glimpse of Babylonian affairs in that remote epoch. Until very recently but a half dozen or so of these precious documents were known.[2] But the number has been materially increased, to the great gain of historical science, by the publication of the first instalment of Hilprecht's

[1] Cf. Hilprecht, OBT. I, p. 24 f.

[2] Published in various works since 1 R. 1861, and now collected by Winckler in his *Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 22.

monumental work[1] embodying the results of the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, sent out in the summer of 1888. Among the finds of this enterprise were "six inscriptions of Sargon I, two of Narām-Sin, and sixty-one inscribed vases (or fragments) of Alusharshid," a monarch of the same dynasty, or at least of the same period. Looking at the collection as a whole, and endeavouring to get some central standpoint whence we may survey as clearly as may be the civilized realms of these far-off times, we first take up a famous inscription of Narām-Sin, written upon an alabaster vase which was found by the French expedition of 1852–55 and lost in the Tigris with other precious antiquities in April, 1855. A correct impression had been taken of the legend, which reads: "Narām-Sin, king of the four quarters of the world, a vase, the spoil[2] of Magan." This brief inscription is significant in many ways. It illustrates the advances of artistic work in these remote ages. It shows how wide the relations were which were sustained by the ambitious princes of the Babylonian Semites with the rest of the world. Magan is now generally believed to be Eastern Arabia. And here we are reminded that the omen-tablets (§ 90) report an expedition of Narām-Sin to Magan, in which he conquered the country and made its king his captive.[3] But something more than mere military activity

[1] *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series A. Cuneiform Texts, vol. I, Part I. Plates 1–50. The Introduction, pp. 1–54, is chiefly devoted to setting forth the general meaning and historical significance of the most important of the inscriptions. A bibliography of the Expedition whose operations were conducted chiefly at Nippur (*Nuffar*) is given on p. 45. The care taken in reproducing accurately the forms of the characters makes this volume the most important contribution that has been made to ancient Babylonian palæography since the publication of I R.

[2] For the various translations proposed for the word *namrag(k)* here rendered "spoil," see Amiand in ZK. I, 249, Jensen in KB. III, 1, 39, and Hilprecht, OBT. 1, 20, note. The meaning of "spoil" might seem to be suggested by the expedition to Magan, but this inference, though plausible, is not quite certain.

[3] IV R. 34, 15–18 *b*.

is also indicated by these tokens. It is probable that, just as West Arabia was coveted and occupied by the Egyptians in very early times (§ 134), for the sake of its mineral productions, so in the east of the peninsula, similar enterprises were conducted by their rivals in the work of civilization. Even more striking, if possible, is a memorial of Narām-Sin found in the island of Cyprus, a cylinder-seal[1] thus inscribed: "Mār-Ishtar, son of Ilu-bāliṭ, servant of (the god) Narām-Sin." If this is the same famous ruler, the possessor would perhaps be a general or viceroy of the Babylonian potentate, who would accordingly seem to have continued in the West-land the domination maintained by his father Sargon. Finally, it is to be said that two brief inscriptions of Narām-Sin were found by the Pennsylvania expedition at Nippur,[2] describing him as a temple-builder to Bel, the tutelary deity of that city (§ 94). Another has also been unearthed at Telloh (§ 95). From these it is certain that his dominion embraced Central and Southern Babylonia, down to the shores of the Persian Gulf, — a fact which is already implied in his subjugation of Magan, still further south.

§ 92. We are now prepared to inquire further into the character of this first great empire of the Semitic race and of the world. It was apparently founded, or at least enlarged to its imperial magnitude, by the great Sargon himself. According to the autobiography (§ 89) his father was of obscure origin, so that he does not care to name him in his memoirs. But he was not always so unfilial, as we learn from one of Hilprecht's inscriptions,[3] where he calls himself the son of Itti-Bēl ("With Bēl"), a good old Semitic name, which meets us three thousand years later in the Book of Kings (1 K. xvi. 31), the Ithobal of Josephus.

[1] TSBA. V, 422, 441 f. cf. Hommel, GBA. p. 309. On palæographic grounds, Hilprecht (OBT. I, p. 22, n. 6) thinks the cylinder cannot be earlier than 2000–1500 B.C. The (deified) Narām-Sin of the inscription is still a puzzle.

[2] OBT. I, p. 18 f.

[3] OBT. I, Pl. 2; cf. *ibid.* p. 15 f.

His own name is not so clear in meaning. I have assumed (§ 89) that he is the same ruler who is called "Sargon" (*Šar-kēnu*[1]) by Nabonidus, and there never could be any reasonable doubt of this identity, though the name of our hero is written in these old documents *Šargāni-šar-āli* ("Sargon king of the city").[2] With this appellation must be compared the name of another king, nearly contemporary, who is called in a brief inscription,[3] the only one we possess, *Bi-in-ga-ni-šar-āli*. It is to be remarked that the identity with the Sargon of Nabonidus is further supported by another inscription[4] of *Šargani-šar-āli*, in which he speaks of presenting the perforated, oval-shaped ornament of polished marble upon which he writes to the sun-god in Sippar, in whose temple it was that Nabonidus found the writing of "Narām-Sin son of Sargon" (§ 87). To return now to the more important question of the range of dominion of this dynasty, it is significant that it is claimed for Sargon in the astrological tablets[5] that he invaded Elam and subdued its people. This implies virtually a sovereignty in Western Asia from west to east, almost conterminous with that possessed by the most powerful kings of Assyria and Babylonia three millenniums later. In striking confirmation of this claim is the fact that another monarch of the time, already referred to, *Ālušaršid*[6] reports in inscriptions found in Nippur that he also subdued the land of Elam. But this is not all the

[1] See Note 15 in Appendix.

[2] The first part of the personal name is written phonetically *šar* (§ 80), while the *šar* of the second portion is merely the pronunciation of the ideogram for "king." Oppert, who thinks it an "inadmissible plaisanterie" to identify him and Sargon, maintains that the whole appellation means "strong is the king of the city" (ZA. III, 124). Against this view see, especially, Hilprecht, OBT. I, p. 16 f. "Sargon," that is *Šargān* is apparently a contraction of this fuller designation.

[3] See Hommel, GBA. p. 299 f.

[4] Collection Le Clercq. Catalogue raisonnée, No. 46 (Paris, 1885 ff.).

[5] IV R. 34, 1–3 *a*.

[6] See OBT. I, p. 20 f. and Pl. 4. 5. Hilprecht here goes on to prove, by this and other contemporary evidence, the general reliability of the omen-

evidence of the latest-found ancient documents illustrative of the wide extent of the domains of Sargon and his successors. Northeastward, beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media, was spread a Semitic population using the language of Babylonia. This important fact we learn from the correct reading and interpretation by Hilprecht[1] of an inscription[2] of a king of the Gutē, the inhabitants of the region in question. The inscribed object was found in Sippar, and was apparently carried off by one of the dynasty of Sargon, from which we infer that for a time, at least, the land of the Gutē was subject to the kings of Akkad[3] (cf. § 171).

§ 93. There is no space for further discussion and speculation on these fascinating themes of primitive history and civilization. The comparative fulness with which the subject has been treated will be justified by this single consideration, that in the political conditions of the empire of Sargon and his dynasty we have essentially the ruling motive and the chief significance of the history of Western Asia for the three thousand years that followed down to the fall of Babylonia, the overthrow of Semitism, and the era of Cyrus and the Persians. The long series of events, including the world-moving fortunes of Israel, with the rise and decline and disappearance of people after people and empire after empire, is bridged over and unified by one issue. The main interest of this chequered history is the struggle between the east and west, or rather the fixed, unfaltering endeavour of the rulers of the East to subdue and dominate the West-land. Whether the controlling dynasty of the River country was North Babylonian or South Babylonian or Elamitic or Assyrian or Chaldæan,

tablets, in what they say of Sargon and Narām-Sin. He holds (p. 19) that Alusharshid preceded Sargon.

[1] OBT. I, pp. 12–14.

[2] Published by Winckler in ZA. IV, 406; cf. Jensen, ZA. VIII, 227 f.

[3] For evidence as to the Semitic character of the neighbouring people of Lulubi, see the reference in Hilprecht *l.c.* p. 13, n. 1.

the purpose and the effort were unalterably maintained. Sargon the First, after we know not how many centuries of preparation on the part of his people and predecessors, achieved a dominion stretching "from sea to sea and from the River unto the ends of the earth." He, the founder of the first great Babylonian dynasty, thus established an ideal of achievement for all his successors, which never failed to fire their imagination and their ambition. And it was precisely the same task which the founder of the last Assyrian dynasty undertook when he assumed the name of Sargon[1] and followed in the ineffaceable footsteps of his prototype, the first world-conqueror of his race. We are accustomed to think and say that nothing changes in the East. There is something awe-inspiring in this everlasting struggle, in this stern resolve, whose fulfilment occupied a succession of empires for over thirty centuries. And when we try to estimate the worth of ancient Semitism and, with the sense that the roll of its achievements is crowned by the mission and work of Israel, endeavour to trace the connection between the fortunes of Israel and those of its multiform environment of peoples and nations, we may plainly discern the very beginning of the end in the fate of the West-land at the hands of its first eastern invaders, and the Babylonian Exile itself in the victorious march of Sargon of Akkad to and from the shores of the Western Sea![2]

§ 94. So much for the history of this epoch of early Semitic history as far as it can as yet be gathered from the

[1] The claim made for Sargon I, in the omen-tablets (IV R. 34, 24–26 *a*), that he sailed over the sea of the West-land, whence he "brought prisoners over the land and sea" and which is, perhaps, confirmed by the discovery in Cyprus above referred to (§ 91), has been supposed to be a fiction based upon the expedition to Cyprus made by the younger Sargon (Hommel, GBA. p. 307 f.). More likely is it that Sargon II undertook this enterprise in imitation of his predecessor, whose achievements he made it the business of his life to emulate.

[2] Compare the article "Providence in Oriental History" in the *Sunday School Times*, March 31, 1894.

meagre relics which are being rendered to us from out of the superincumbent dust and débris of six millenniums. For the sake of greater definiteness, a word should be added as to the chief centres of population and political influence in North Babylonia during this and the subsequent periods of ancient time. First, as to the seat of the kingdom of Sargon and Narām-Sin, who are called kings of "Akkad."[1] This famous old city, which is mentioned as one of the original settlements of Babylonia in Gen. x. 10, must have lost its autonomy, or at least its importance, at a very early date, since it is only referred to in the later literature as a city in an antiquarian or religious connection.[2] But in spite of its decline, its influence was commemorated in two capital ways: by the perpetuation of the worship of the deities of the city of Akkad, and by the transference of its name to the region of which, as the city of Sargon and his dynasty, it was the political centre, so that Akkad down to the latest times was used as the designation of Northern Babylonia.[3] Lying very close to Akkad was the city of Sippar. The descriptions of the excavations of Nabonidus (cf. § 87) make out their sites to have been practically identical or at least historically inseparable.[4] The associated fortunes of the two cities is so instructive from the point of view of religious as well as of political history,

[1] Written A-GA-DE. The last sign has also the phonetic value *ne*, and accordingly the word is written by some scholars "Agane." The former pronunciation is almost certainly right. The most serious ground for scruple is suggested by the names of the two kings of the city, Šargāni and Bingāni (§ 92), which might plausibly be explained respectively as "King of Agane" and "Son of Agane." No account of these forms yet given is satisfactory. In any case it must not be supposed that *Akkad* is derived from *Agade*. If the latter ever was an actual word, and not merely a mode of writing Akkad, the reverse was more probably the case. As a city the writing is regularly *Agade;* as a country or kingdom *Akkadū*, which may be assumed to have been primarily an adjective, that is, the territory of (the city) Akkad.

[2] V R. 35, 31 (Cyrus) probably refers to a foreign locality, its namesake.

[3] Par. 199 f.; KGF. 533 f.

[4] Cf. I R. 69 col. II, 29 with col. III, 27 f.

that it will repay us to dwell upon them for a moment. A suggestion of the changeful fates of this locality is afforded by the fact that we have frequent references to two Sippars, namely, "Sippar of the Sun-god" and "Sippar of Anunīt," a goddess whose cult was combined with that of Ishtar. We learn, in fact, from Nabonidus, that the worship of Ishtar of Akkad was replaced by that of Anunīt of Sippar.[1] Thus we have evidence that in very early times Sippar was the great seat of the worship of the sun, while in Akkad Ishtar was similarly honoured. In the time of Sargon and Narām-Sin, when the city of Akkad was supreme, these monarchs sedulously cultivated both types of worship; but that the Moon-god was also adored is proved by the very name Narām-Sin, "the beloved of the Moon-god." This religious syncretism simply goes to show that the building up of the ancient Babylonian states went on in their earliest stages by gradual absorption through conquest or treaty, as elsewhere in the Semitic world (§ 58 f.). The allusions to the two Sippars has suggested the identification of them with Sepharvaim (2 K. xvii. 24, 31; xviii. 34; xix. 13), which was supposed to show a dual ending. But Sepharvaim is probably a city of Northern Syria (§ 349). An interesting inference from the references to these cities is that their centre of unity and development was the temple of the chief deity. In the case of the double Sippar, it is most natural to assume that the two communities, addicted to the Sun-god and Ishtar respectively, lay very close together; that one of them, the seat of Ishtar, which was formerly called Akkad, was at the time of the old empire the more powerful of the two and the centre of royal authority; that afterwards the other ("Sippar of the sun") became the more important, and absorbed Akkad. The temple of Ishtar, however, in Akkad, still gave distinctiveness to that quarter of the double city, which was called in the later literature "Sippar of Anunīt," in continuation of the worship of

[1] Cf. I R. 69 col. II, 48 with col. III, 28.

"Ishtar of Akkad." It is barely possible, but as yet quite unproved, that the city of Akkad lay opposite to Sippar, on the left bank of the Euphrates.— Another city of North Babylonia must have played an important part in these very ancient times before the era of Babylon. I refer to *Kūtū*, the Cutha (2 K. xvii. 24, 30) of the Bible. This city lay about equidistant from Sippar and Babylon and fifteen miles from each, a little eastward of them and of the Euphrates, on the site of the extensive modern ruins known as Tell Ibrahim. Here was the chief seat of the worship of the god Nergal, the lion-like god, according to his favourite representation in sculpture. It was known already from the Bible that this deity was the chief god of the Cuthæans, and the confirmation afforded by the inscriptions is still further illustrated in the discovery by Rassam of his temple in the ruins above mentioned. The matter has special interest for Bible students, from the fact that the Samaritans were called "Cuthæans" by the later Jews on account of their prominence among the imported foreigners. To the Jews the relics of Nergal worship would be specially odious on account of the associations of the Babylonian Exile. The antiquity of Cutha as a sacred place is suggested by the custom of Assyrian kings to offer sacrifices there on their marches to Babylon.[1] The discovery of historical records of Cutha would doubtless add essentially to our knowledge of the early condition and fortunes of North Babylonia.— Another city, Nippur, which belonged more to North than to South Babylonia (cf. § 101, 108, and 110, note), and which still bears its ancient name in the form *Nuffar*, was about thirty-five miles southeast of Babylon. Through it ran the famous canal, or rather canalized river, the Shatt-en-Nil. The fact that so many of the most ancient cities of Babylonia lay upon this stream is proof of its enormous antiquity, and goes far, with other evidence, to establish the conjecture of Delitzsch that it was one of the four "rivers" of

[1] Winckler, GBA. p. 33.

Eden.[1] The ruins, which are of great extent, were examined hastily by Layard, and now have a permanent interest attaching to them as the scene of the explorations and discoveries of the Pennsylvania expedition of 1888 and 1889 (§ 91). Nippur was the real centre of Babylonia in the most ancient historic times. In its ruins have been found inscriptions not only of Sargon I, and his successors, but of the dynasty of "Ur of the Chaldees" (§ 101). This evidence of subjection, first to the ruling power of North Babylonia, and then to that of the South, sufficiently indicates its importance. Its possession was, in fact, coveted not only on account of its central location, but also because of its religious renown. It was the sacred seat of Bēl, the oldest chief god of the Semitic, or at least of the North-Semitic peoples, the Canaanitic Baal, the rival of Jehovah. This fact alone may plausibly suggest that Nippur was the beginning of the Semitic settlements in Babylonia.

§ 95. We have now to turn to Southern Babylonia. Here also the most that we know about the affairs of the remotest past has been gained through recent discoveries. The researches and explorations in this region, undertaken by the French expedition under Fresnel and Oppert (1851–1855), as well as by Loftus and Taylor (1853–1855), were fruitful of results as far as these indicated the character of the civilization of the ancient dwellers in the valley of the Euphrates, since they brought to light a great variety of interesting objects,— manufactured articles, ornaments, and other works of art. But of inscriptions, which alone could unfold the story of the past ages, not many of an historical character were put by them at the disposal of the scholars of the West.[2] Yet the few that were recovered have been found to be of great value, especially when brought into the right relation with the documents since unearthed and published by other explorers. Of these,

[1] See Par. 70 ff.

[2] Some of the treasures of the French explorers were lost in the Tigris.

the most successful has been De Sarzec, French Consul at Baghdad and Basra, whose excavations (1876–1881) in the mounds of Telloh, four miles east of the great canal Shatt-el-Hai, about thirty miles due north of its junction with the Euphrates, resulted in the acquisition of a great variety of objects with and without inscriptions,— clay tablets, engraved and unengraved clay cylinders, ornaments, statues large and small of remarkable correctness of execution, and other products of artistic effort. For detailed descriptions of these objects with conjectures as to their respective ages, I must refer to the special publication,[1] and hasten on to summarize the historical results of these and the earlier discoveries, as far as they have a bearing upon our general theme. The mounds of Telloh occupy the site of a city anciently called *Lagaš*. This city was the seat of the earliest dynasty of South Babylonian kings with which we are as yet acquainted. It is a matter of very great difficulty to give a satisfactory account of these rulers and their domains. One great obstacle is the fact, which must be taken account of in all that relates to this primitive period in South Babylonia, that the accessible inscriptions are written ideographically (or, as some say, in the "Sumerian" language, § 80), and the reading of many of the words, and even of the names of most of the kings themselves, is quite doubtful. It should also be stated that from the very earliest times the kings of Babylonia, both northern and southern, confine themselves in their memoirs almost entirely to statements of their operations in temple-building, and have little to tell us about their policy or their achievements that was not connected with the predominating interest of the worship of the gods. It will signify little to the reader to be informed that the reading generally preferred[2] for

[1] Ernest de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*. Publié par les soins de Léon Heuzey. Paris, 1884 ff.

[2] See Winckler, GBA. p. 41; Jensen in KB. III, I, p. 10 f.; Amiaud in RP.[2] I, p. 50.

the ruler usually put at the head of the dynasty is Ur-Ninā (perhaps better Amel-Ninā), the man or servant of the goddess Ninā, and that he was followed by several rulers of problematic nomenclature. Of these it can only be said definitely that they emulated each other in their zeal and success in erecting temples and palaces, and that the most noted of them, an energetic potentate named Ur-Ba'u (or Amel-Ba'u), made it his business to see to it that no deity worshipped in any section of his little kingdom should be without a worthy sanctuary, and thus doubtless contributed much to consolidate the rival communities of which his realm was composed. From him we have an inscription of six columns, the earliest original lengthy document as yet found in Babylonia.

§ 96. The era of the last-named ruler, Ur-Ba'u, may be pretty confidently set down as not later than 3000 B.C., and the city of Lagash may be held to have arisen to power between 3500 and 3300 B.C. How much earlier than that the civilization of South Babylonia ranges back we cannot tell. There seems to be no good reason why it should be considered as earlier in origin than that of North Babylonia. In both cases we are bound to assume a long period of slow development in glyptic, plastic, and pictorial art, the art of writing, and the arts of life; and it is not too much to expect that one day the material will be before us which will furnish the basis for a satisfactory judgment upon these weighty matters. For the progress of South Babylonia onward from the time of Ur-Ba'u we are fairly well supplied with information, though there are several intervals of only vaguely estimable duration of which nothing is as yet known. After a gap of apparently not many years arose a prince of very remarkable character, named by the Sumerianists Gudēa, but whom we may be permitted to call by the most common equivalent of the ideogram, Nabū (the "Declarer, or Prophet"). From him proceed the most and the most important of the remains found in Telloh: eight statues, two large clay cylinders,

and hundreds of fragments of small texts. He may fairly be regarded as the greatest of the rulers of Lagash. He was not only a temple-builder like all of his kind, but as an explorer and conqueror he ranks with the foremost of West Asiatic monarchs. One is tempted to say that he must have taken the great Sargon of Akkad as his hero and model, whose dynasty and empire must then have been long past but not forgotten. Like other Babylonian rulers to the end of the race, he says little directly of warlike exploits or of his measures of government. But just as the omen-tablets of Sargon tell of his achievements in the West-land and beyond (§ 90 f.), so we have from Nabū much indirect information about his activity in the same and other remote localities. In enumerating the materials used for building certain of his temples, he mentions having obtained timbers of cedar up to seventy cubits in length from Mount Amanus in Northwestern Syria, as well as trees of the same sort from certain mountains in the West of unknown location; while in other mountainous districts in the same region he quarried great stones for his temples. The material for his statues was obtained from *Magan*, or Northeast Arabia, while gold and precious stones in profusion were furnished him by *Melūḫa*, or Northwest Arabia. Moreover, he tells us that his ships came laden with various kinds of wood from these same districts in Arabia, from the island of Dilmun in the Persian Gulf, and from an unknown region called *Gubi*.[1]

§ 97. We have here a somewhat more definite picture of the international relations of Babylonia than it was possible to gain from the scanty notices of the times and the dominion of Sargon and his successor. In the interests of the southern monarchy ships sailed not only the Persian Gulf but the Red Sea as well. The treasures of the Arabian coastland, in costly woods and spices, in precious

[1] Thought by Amiaud, RP.[2] I, p. 53, on plausible grounds, to stand for Egypt.

stones and stones for statuary, were spoiled by this ruler of an ancient city, the very name of which is now a subject of dispute, and even the existence of which was not suspected until a few years ago. Some interesting questions suggest themselves at the mention of this traffic by land and sea. We know that the Egyptians, the close neighbours of the western portions of Syria and Arabia, were interested at a very early date (§ 134 f.) in their trade and productions, especially in those of the Sinaitic peninsula. Does not this suggest the possibility of relations between Babylonia and Egypt of a business and possibly of a political kind, at a much earlier period? If there was, as seems probable, a close connection between the earliest civilization of the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, may not the missing link be found in westward expeditions of the Babylonians at a time long preceding that of Nabū, or even that of Sargon? Another problem presents itself in connection with the matter of shipping. In later historical times, for example in the days of Solomon, the navigation of the Red Sea was in the hands of the Phœnicians (1 K. ix. 26 ff.), and under Sinacherib the Assyrians availed themselves of Phœnician ship-builders and sailors for the construction of proper vessels and the navigation of the Persian Gulf.[1] Is it not likely that Phœnician vessels and seamen were employed by the Babylonians when the possibility was presented to them of transporting the products of Western Arabia more easily by the sea than by the land route? That Sargon and Narām-Sin transported their troops and traders to Cyprus in Sidonian vessels may be taken for granted, for they had no other resource for such an enterprise.

§ 98. The same remarkable prince is not entirely silent as to his deeds of arms. Already at this early date we see Elam an active rival of the Babylonian states. Nabū informs us that he broke the power of the city of *Anšan* (§ 106). If this refers to the district in Elam of which

[1] I R. 40, 26; 43, 23 ff.; III R. 12 f.

Cyrus was the hereditary ruler, we find here a continuation of the rivalry between Elam and the Babylonian states which is indicated in the omen-tablets of Sargon, and renewed evidence of the antiquity of the Elamitic peoples.[1] Apart from this we have indirect testimony of the military power of Nabū and his people. We have seen how the costly productions of the whole of the West-land were at his disposal; and a very slight acquaintance with the political conditions of the ancient East is sufficient to assure any one that these coveted products could only be obtained directly by a ruler who was either sovereign or suzerain of the country. This observation suggests an inquiry as to the political status of Nabū. It has been supposed by most scholars of late that, while the earliest rulers of Lagash were independent kings, Ur-Ba'u and Nabū were in one form or another vassals of an outside monarch. This view is based upon a fact which we have not as yet alluded to, because it is worthy of special mention as a separate topic. The distinction between the earlier and later rulers is that while the former call themselves "kings," the latter, to the close of the dynasty, give themselves ideographically the title of *niššāk* (or *iššāk*), a word which has been supposed to mean "*lieutenant* before the name of a country, and *vicaire* before the name of a divinity" (Amiaud). There is also, however, a consensus of opinion to the effect that the word signifies a "priest-king" or "priestly ruler." There is no doubt that this is the proper meaning of the term, since, according to the Assyrian vocabularies,[2] it is explained as "sacrificer," a signification with which its derivation accords.[3] From the fact that in these antique communities the priests and their assistants were not only the most important, but also the most numerous class of functionaries, and that the

[1] In KB. III, 1, p. 38 f. Jensen unnecessarily doubts the reference to Elam.

[2] *E.g.* S[b] 89.

[3] Cf. the cognate Hebrew and Aramæan נסך.

essential attribute of their office was that they were representatives and agents of the gods, the word came to have the sense of official or minister.[1] It is, however, in the primary and proper sense that the princes of Lagash use the term with reference to themselves; that is to say, they describe themselves as being, in their capacity of rulers, regents of the gods, by virtue of their being first and foremost priests. The suitableness of the designation can be fully appreciated only upon a reading of their inscriptions. Here it will suffice to point out that they write of themselves as being simply and solely vicegerents of the gods; and accordingly their whole talk is of temples and sacrifices, and of their devoutness in seeing that these cardinal agencies, or rather elements, of religion were conserved and extended. We are now enabled to get a more comprehensive and at the same time a more accurate view of the jurisdiction and policy of these most remarkable of ancient rulers. Vassalage to any suzerain whatever is out of the question. It is not demanded by their favourite title, as we have just shown; nor is it compatible with the general conditions of the kingdom. Dependence upon Ur, even in the disguise of vassalage to its gods,[2] was not yet possible, since, as will be presently shown, the latter city did not attain to predominance till after the days of Nabū. Nor is there any likelihood that homage in any form was paid to the old kingdom of Akkad, as some[3] have supposed, since if this monarchy was at all existent at this time, it was a mere shadow of its former self, and it is utterly unthinkable that an Oriental community should acknowledge the suzerainty of an inferior moribund power. But in any case, there could be no rival in the period under review to the dominion of these princes of Lagash themselves. Their unrestricted activity, and their influence over what must have been virtually then the

[1] Cf. KB. III, 1. p. 6 (Jensen).

[2] Jensen in KB. *l.c.*

[3] Hommel, GBA. p. 329 f. Winckler, GBA. p. 42.

whole of the civilized world, puts political competition, not to speak of superiority, on the part of any other community, entirely out of the question.

§ 99. It would be a profitable task to consider the source and motive of such an extension of influence, and of such a marvellous forth-putting of energy, as we have seen manifested in the rulers of Akkad and its successor in South Babylonia. The predominant, or rather exclusive, tone of the extant inscriptions reveals the secret, and at the same time furnishes the key not only to Babylonian but to ancient Oriental history in general. Everything in political and social life turned upon what was more fundamental and vital to the existence of the state than trade or manufactures or war or diplomacy; namely, religion. The world was ransacked for the finest and most enduring of woods for temples and altars and palaces erected for the gods or their human representatives. The quarries and the mines of the West-land yielded stone for their images, and statues and gems for their adornment. Religion was, in a word, the be all and the end all of life and government to these first founders of states and empires. The very completeness of their sway in Western Asia, and the evident facility with which it was extended, is proof of the intensity of their religious devotion, in which, as in other things, they set an example to be followed with greater or less success, but with unvarying consistency and singleness of aim, till the latest Semitic times (cf. § 93).

§ 100. While dependence on any foreign power is thus out of the question for Nabū, the same thing cannot be asserted of his successors, of several of whom brief inscriptions have been unearthed. Soon after the time of Nabū, the rulers of Lagash, still bearing the same title of "priest-regent," are found dedicating treasures of art to the kings of Ur, and thereby indicate the suzerainty of the latter. We have accordingly to assume that the centre of authority for South Babylonia, and apparently also for the whole eastern Semitic world, was transferred to this

famous city. "Ur of the Chaldees" is the name by which the home of Abraham's ancestors is called in Genesis, in allusion to the people who were in power in that region at the time of the composition of this section of the book. But in the age of the world of which we are now treating, the Chaldees, if they existed at all as a separate people, were only known as an insignificant clan. It was not till about two thousand years later that they are mentioned in the annals of the country, though they came in course of time to found the most powerful and opulent empire that the ancient Semites ever established. Ur is now represented by the extensive ruins of Mugheir (*i.e.* "place of bitumen"). Its situation marks it as having been in its time the most important commercial city of Lower Babylonia. It lay on the southern bank of the Euphrates, the nearest city of Babylonia to Arabia, and accordingly the *entrepôt* to the important trade with the interior of that vast region. It was also one of the chief gulf ports, answering in this respect to Basra of the present day. The great canal Pallakopas[1] flowed past it, connecting it directly with Babylon and the Gulf; while two other large canals, represented by the modern Shatt-en-Nil and Shatt-el-Hāi, united with the Euphrates in its neighbourhood on the northern side of the river. Commensurate with its commercial was its religious importance. As the chief seat of the worship of the Moon-god Sin, the patron of travellers and merchants, it was to Babylonia what Ḫarrān (Haran), the greatest inland trading-place of all Western Asia, and, moreover, a pilgrim shrine of the same immemorial Semitic deity, was to Mesopotamia (§ 75).

§ 101. Under "*Ur-gur*" (perhaps to be read *Amel-Ea*, "servant of Ea"), the earliest known king of Ur, that city had already attained to undisputed pre-eminence in Babylonia. Like the rest of his kind, Ur-gur was noted for temple-building, to which his extant inscriptions, found on the site of the several edifices which he commemorates,

[1] Probably the "Pishon" of Gen. ii.; see Par. 73 ff.

refer without exception. While several of these have been found in the mound of Mugheir, which marks the site of the great temple of Sin, others have been unearthed at Erech, the city of Ishtar, Larsa, the chief seat of the Sun-god in South Babylonia, and Nippur, the favourite abode of Bēl (§ 94). Nippur, on the border of North Babylonia, was therefore under the control of the kings of Ur, as the favourite title, added to the designation "King of Ur," clearly attests. I refer to the famous formula "King of Shumer and Akkad," whose significance will be considered later (§ 110, cf. 102). Their jurisdiction over North Babylonia must have amounted to some form of permanent suzerainty. A more definite idea may be obtained of conditions nearer home; for the impartial devotion to the local cults, just alluded to as being manifested by the kings of Ur, is a proof of a political consolidation of the leading cities such as had been already exemplified on a smaller scale by Lagash. — A word should be said here of these ancient centres of civilization. Erech was one of the most sacred of all cities to the ancient Babylonians. The special form of the name we get from the received Old Testament text, where it is mentioned along with Babylon, Akkad, and Calneh, as one of the principal seats of the dominion of Nimrod (Gen. x. 10). The ancient Babylonian name was *Uruk*,[1] which may also have been the form of the word in the original text of Genesis, as it is confirmed by the Ὀρὲχ of the LXX and the classical Ὀρχόη, as well as the modern Warka which stands on its site. It lay on the northern side of the Euphrates, between the river and the Shatt-en-Nil, about thirty miles northwest of Ur. As the first large city of South Babylonia to be reached in the descent of the Euphrates, its intercourse with North Babylonia was close and frequent. But the strongest bond between Erech and the rest of the whole

[1] The Massoretic form appears again in the adjective, Ezra iv. 9 (E.V. Archevites !), and singularly enough a late Assyrian form (cf. Par. 221) agrees with it. Does the word in Genesis represent a late tradition?

country was its worship of Ishtar, the one universally adored North-Semitic female divinity. She was here reverenced and served under the name Nanā, as in Akkad under the title Anunīt (§ 94). An evidence of the prestige of this immemorial shrine is the care with which the lords of Ur maintained and frequented it; but the most signal indications are those furnished by the hymns and the epic poem which became a part of the national literature, and in which the sufferings of the people of Babylonia, under the galling yoke of the Elamites in the twenty-third century B.C., are imaged forth in the devastation of Erech and the anger of the exiled goddess (§ 107). The extensive site of the city, crowned by the lofty ruins of the magnificent temple of Ishtar, have not furnished historical material proportioned to their importance. Some of the inscriptions, however, are of great interest. One, with extremely antique characters, belongs to the early stage of independence before the subjection to Ur, and is further of importance since its language is unmistakably Semitic. It may thus be put side by side with the relics of the dynasty of Akkad as indispensable proof of the very ancient predominance of the Semites in Southern as well as in Northern Babylonia. — The city of Larsa lay not more than fifteen miles east of Erech, also on the Shatt-en-Nil, on the site of the modern Senkereh. It was to South Babylonia, in the religious sphere, what Sippar was to North Babylonia, the central seat of the worship of the Sun-god. Always of note in this respect, it attained also to high political influence at two periods to be mentioned later. It was undoubtedly the Elasar of Gen. xiv. (§ 108 f.). Its temple of *Bīt-Šamaš* (= Beth-Shemesh) was famous, at least from the days of Ur-gur, who was, perhaps, its founder. Some of the most famous monarchs till the end of Babylonian history were its zealous restorers and worshippers at its shrine. — Another ancient city famous for its sanctity was Eridu, situated "at the mouth of the Rivers," the modern Abu-Shahrain. It was sacred to the good god Ea (§ 112).

§ 102. The dominion of the dynasty of Ur, which may thus be taken as the legitimate successor of that of Lagash, was continued by Ba'ukīn (written *Dun-gi*), the son of Ur-gur. He also divided his activity between the care and patronage of Ur and of the subject cities. In addition to inscriptions of his found in Ur and Erech, two have been unearthed in Cutha (§ 94), written in whole or in part in unmistakable Semitic. In one of these he gives himself the title of "King of the four quarters of the world." This remarkable title, borne already by Narām-Sin, was the proper designation of the kings who ruled in North Babylonia, just as the kings of Ur called themselves "Kings of Shumer and Akkad" (§ 101). Now as the former designation is appropriated by Ba'ukīn, we must infer that the present dynasty of Ur had not only become supreme in South Babylonia, but had fallen heir also to the old dominion of the kings of Akkad. There seems, in fact, to have been a temporary unification of the whole of Babylonia under the hegemony of Ur. That a similar state of things prevailed under the rule of Sargon and Narām-Sin, with the leadership in North Babylonia, we have already seen to have been as good as established (§ 91). It may be remarked in passing that the kingly titles just quoted were assumed by the kings who ruled later in Babylon over a united empire, and that they were exploited by the kings of Assyria also, when they came to rule over Babylonia. In this, as often since and elsewhere in the world's history, reverence for the relics and associations of a sacred antiquity was found to be a most excellent instrument of self-aggrandisement. A tradition, not altogether ignoble, was gradually established, that there could be only one rightful heir to the glory and sanctity of the holy Babylonian empire. Such a sentiment, cherished till the latest Semitic times, gave definiteness and coherence to the ambitions of successive rulers and dynasties, and made possible the permanent establishment of one great dominion in Western Asia.

§ 103. However powerful this first dynasty of Ur may have been in Babylonia, we have as yet no trace of an extension of dominion to the far West or even beyond the limits of the River-land. Indeed, we have to wait for several hundred years before definite evidence is afforded of anything like the old world-subduing enterprise of the kings of Akkad. When we add to this that there was also, after the times of the rulers of Lagash, no progress made in the products of art, the significance of the long retrogression at once suggests itself. There was, it would seem, a period in the history of Babylonia between the fifth and fourth millenniums B.C., whose achievements were not equalled in the following millennium. It was not merely that the area of warlike enterprise was greatly circumscribed. What is more worthy of note is the decline in commerce and manufactures and in the æsthetic arts. The subject is wide and vague, and easily lends itself to aimless speculation. Yet it is perhaps more than a coincidence that the creative period in Babylonia should have apparently been nearly contemporary with a similar epoch in Egypt, and that both of these eras lie on the border of the ages which we are as yet obliged to call prehistoric.

§ 104. The age of this dynasty of Ur cannot be exactly determined. We may, however, safely enough put it somewhere between 2900 and 2500 B.C. Thereupon followed a period marked by the transference of dominion from Ur to the important city of Isin, whose site has not yet been ascertained. Its rulers, whose inscriptions have been found in Mugheir[1] (Ur) and *Nuffar*[2] (Nippur), call themselves kings of Isin as well as of Shumer and Akkad. They claim lordship also by various titles, over Ur, Eridu, and even Nippur, so that their predominance is unquestioned. They seem to have drawn their origin from Nip-

[1] Published in I R. 2 and 5 and IV R. 35.

[2] Published in OBT. I, Pl. 9–13. The possession of Nippur by these kings explains the title "king of Shumer and Akkad" (§ 110).

pur, since that city stands first in the list of subject districts,[1] and Isin itself may therefore be assumed to have stood not far to the south of *Nuffar*. The last of the kings known to us bears the name *Išmē Dagān* ("Dagon has heard") written syllabically, though his inscription and those of his predecessors are written ideographically. This fact, which the Sumeriologists take for a sign of the encroachment of the Semitic Babylonians upon the Sumerians, appears to indicate merely the progress southward of phonetic writing, which was developed earlier in North than in South Babylonia. Very little can be learned of the history of this régime. It was succeeded by a second dynasty of Ur, which was apparently a continuation of the dynasty of Isin. The predominance of the element Sin in the names of its rulers (*Būr-Sin*, *Gamil(?)-Sin*, *Sin-iddin*) has been thought to show that North Babylonia was their home, since the Moon-god was worshipped there particularly under that epithet.[2] More significant is the fact that their names are written phonetically, while the inscriptions themselves are still ideographic, since, as remarked above, the advance to phonetic writing was made much earlier in the north than in the south. Very instructive also is the illustration of the same usage from Erech. Here an independent, perhaps local, dynasty was bearing sway concurrently, as it would seem, with one of the kingdoms last mentioned. Its rulers have also Semitic names written phonetically, while their inscriptions are ideographic. Apparently this dynasty of Erech was absorbed in the second of Ur, for which it doubtless prepared the way. These later dynasties ran till after 2400 B.C. The next ruling power had its centre in Larsa (§ 101). Its brief predominance was cut short by the Elamites (see § 108).

§ 105. Before passing to the next period of Babylonian history it will be in place to say a word by way of retrospective summary. We have seen that supreme power was first wielded over a wide area, extending far beyond the

[1] See Hommel, GBA. p. 339.

[2] Winckler, GBA. p. 47.

bounds of the River region, by a kingdom having its centre in North Babylonia. Then, after an unknown number of centuries, a southern principality appears as the leading power, exercising an authority scarcely less than that of its predecessor. Thereafter we find a succession of monarchies securing predominance, among which the extreme southern city of Ur is foremost in range and duration of influence. Again we observe that while the centre of control is first in the north and then in the south, the jurisdiction of the leading state in either case is not confined to its own proper region; the kings of Akkad bore sway in Nippur in the central region, and so also in their turn did the kings of Ur. If we seek to know the relative eras of development, we have the surest confirmation of the dates obtained from Nabonidus (§ 88), in the testimony afforded by the progress of the art of writing. In the inscriptions of Sargon and Narām-Sin we see the phonetic method of syllabic writing already brought to perfection. In the south we find the primitive ideographic system consistently retained, eked out in many words by an extension of the same ideographic or symbolizing idea in the form of an apparatus of explanatory prefixes or suffixes. The latter mode of expressing ideas is seen to be less advanced than the alphabetic because it is less clear and in all respects more clumsy. Moreover, a language written according to this method is much less easy to be learned by or to be taught to foreigners. Hence the fact that the phonetic system prevailed so early in North Babylonia and eastward over the Tigris (§ 92) is significant of the cosmopolitan relations of the ancient kingdom of Akkad. Progress accordingly was made, as the Book of Genesis also indicates,[1] from the north southward, and we can have no hesitation in vindicating for the region north of Babylon the claim put forth in Genesis, that the

[1] That is, the movement was from a location near the approach of the Rivers (Gen. ii. 10) towards Shinar (Gen. xi.), or the region about Babylon (§ 110).

seat of the earliest civilization was the place of the parting of the Rivers. We may, at least, say with confidence, that in this portion of the River country, where the streams lie nearest together, it was most easy and natural to utilize the conditions that were so favourable for the successive development of agriculture, inland navigation, trade, and manufactures; and may also point to the fact that the earliest recorded civilization had its home in that very region, where it comes to view as in many respects a finished product with a past behind it of indefinite duration, and an unknown number of stages of development.[1]

§ 106. In the earlier history of the independent Babylonian monarchies, signs were not wanting of conflicts with the people beyond the Tigris (see § 92, 98). Elam was the name (meaning "highland") originally given to the country lying at the foot of the most westerly range of the mountains of Media. The more southerly region, stretching along the Gulf southeastward from the mouth of the Tigris, was known from very early times as Anshan (§ 98), a name which was locally retained even to the Persian times. Elam, however, was the designation employed by the Semites generally for the whole district, including both mountain and plain, and in the same sense we have to understand the frequent references to Elam made in the Old Testament. To Herodotus the country was known as Kissia, and to the later Greeks as Susiana, from the name of the capital Susa, the Shushan of the Bible. In very early times the whole of Elam seems to have been frequently under the dominion of one ruler, and it must be credited with a national development reaching back to very early Babylonian times. For cultivation and settled habitation it compares favourably with any part of

[1] Hilprecht's inference (OBT. I, p. 22, n. 2), from the Semitic character of the Gutē (§ 92), "in favour of a migration of the Semites into Babylonia from the north," is perhaps premature. The progress of civilization, at least, was both southward and northward from Akkad. The larger question (of § 21) is of course still in doubt.

the East; the fertility of the lowlands, watered by the Uknu (Choaspes, modern Kercha), and the Ulai (Dan. viii. 2, 16, Eulæus, modern Karun), rivalled that of Babylonia, and the coolness of the highlands made them an enviable residence. In the twenty-third century B.C., Elam appears to have stood at the summit of its power. It was, at any rate, at that time that it intervened with most effect in Babylonian affairs. At the opening of this century, the last ruling dynasty of which we have taken note (§ 104) came to an end, and it was succeeded by no native régime sufficiently strong to keep the control of the kindred cities and principalities out of the hands of powerful foreigners such as the Elamites.

§ 107. We have to picture to ourselves the subjugation of the country, not as having been accomplished by a single decisive stroke, but by a series of invasions. We are fortunately informed as to the time and circumstances of one of the most important of these incursions. A notice by Asshurbanipal, king of Assyria, written about 650 B.C.,[1] tells us that he recovered from Susa a statue of the goddess Nanâ (Ishtar, § 101), which the Elamitic king *Kudur-nanḫundi* had taken away from her temple at Erech 1635 years before. The conquest which ensued was doubtless of the normal Oriental character, and the oppression of the Babylonians has left its traces in a most interesting and even pathetic fashion in the literature which owed much of its inspiration to the national sufferings of this memorable epoch. To a people like the Babylonians, the rigour of a foreign yoke was naturally felt most deeply in the sphere of religion, in the desecration and spoliation of the shrines, whose erection, equipment, and embellishment had formed the chief care of the native princes from the remotest epochs, and at the same time had proved the most potent means of binding together the elements of the several independent communities. Of this feeling we have an instance in the contents of the famous "Nimrod"

[1] V R. 6, 107 ff.

epic. The motive of this most ancient of epics is drawn from the Elamitic occupation of this same city of Erech, when the tyrant *Ḫumbaba*, a successor of Kudur-nanchundi, is described as a ruthless oppressor, who has brought desolation and distress upon the people, as well as disgrace upon the exiled goddess Ishtar. In the same poem, the deliverance effected by the hero has as its basis the historical fact of the gradual subjugation and expulsion of the hated foreigners. Moreover, certain omen-tablets contain a reference to a similar deportation to Elam of the image of Bēl, and in addition some touching hymns bewail the devastation of the land and the profanation of the temples.[1]

§ 108. The spoliation of Bēl just alluded to would seem to show that the city of Nippur (§ 94), the chief seat of his worship, came also under the dominion of the Eastern invaders. This would imply the conquest of both North and South Babylonia. We are also in a position to show further the extent of the Elamitic occupation, and thus to read more intelligently that passage in the annals of the Hebrews which has to do with the condition of things in Western Asia, as related to the fortunes of their great ancestor Abraham. There is, in fact, for this epoch, a rare concurrence of various lines of testimony. Inscriptions have been found of Elamitic rulers in Babylonia which clearly show that they actually did occupy Erech and Nippur, and give us details as to the nature and range of their occupation. The centre of their authority was Larsa. This city had arisen, just before the invasion, to a leading position in Babylonia, for the last king of the second dynasty of Ur (§ 104) calls himself[2] "king of Larsa"; he bears the Semitic name Nūr-Rammān, and writes ideographically, as does also his son and successor, Sin-iddin. The latter calls himself king of Larsa and also "king of Shumer and Akkad" (§ 110), so that we have abundant proof of a new realm in Babylonia, with Larsa

[1] Cf. Hommel, GBA. 343 ff.

[2] I R. 2, Nr. IV.

as the capital. Ur, where the inscriptions of these kings of Larsa have been found, was the second city of importance, as being the home of the dynasty. When the Elamites occupied Larsa, they came into the country under the leadership of Kudur-mabug, whose name reveals a close association with that of the conqueror of Erech. In a surviving inscription[1] of his, also found in Ur, he dedicates a temple in that city to the god Sin, with a prayer in behalf of his son, a namesake of that deity, Rim-Sin, or rather Erim-Āku,[2] the "Arioch, king of Elasar" (Larsa) of Gen. xiv. The latter prince, while maintaining a special regard for Ur and its patron deity, proclaims himself also king of Larsa. That he also rightly styles himself "king of Shumer and Akkad" is indicated by his jurisdiction over and care for the other famous cities from Eridu to Nippur (cf. § 101), whose historic rôles had already been played. These kings evidently followed in the steps of their Babylonian predecessors in all principal matters of religious and general policy, so that if it were not for the illustrative literature already quoted, one would readily believe that their sway was as acceptable to the people as could have been that of home-born sovereigns. If we may judge from the case of Erech (§ 107), it would seem that the viceroys appointed over the several cities were also Elamites and petty tyrants. In the eyes of the people this whole set of rulers were lacking in the prestige that had always invested the hereditary guardians of the immemorial shrines of the gods of the land.

§ 109. The chief interest which attaches to these foreign princes arises from their connection with Biblical history just alluded to. In Gen. xiv. we read that, in the days of Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Elasar,[3] Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Targal,[4] king of Goyim,

[1] I R. 2, Nr. III.

[2] *Āku* or *āgu*, the moon's disk, is a synonym of Sin. For the loss of *m* in pronunciation between vowels (= *v*, *w*), see Delitzsch, Ass. Gr. § 49*a*.

[3] So read by LXX (Lucian). [4] So read by LXX.

these kings made war with Bera, king of Sodom, and four neighbouring princes; that the latter, as the result of common defeat in battle, came into subjection to the former for twelve years; that in the thirteenth year they rebelled; and that, in the fourteenth year, "Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him" invaded Palestine, and after subduing or ravaging the whole country east of Jordan and west of the Dead Sea southward to Mount Seir, again defeated the same confederation of kings, and were returning homeward with the spoil when they were overtaken near the city of Dan by Abram the Hebrew with a hasty levy of his own servants, who routed them in a night attack, pursued them to the north of Damascus, and recovered the prisoners and the booty. From this it appears that the invasion and subjugation of the West-land were undertaken at the instance of the king of Elam; for though the king of Shinar, or North Babylonia, is mentioned first in v. 1, the subsequent allusions to the eastern allies (vs. 5, 9) indicate clearly the leadership of the Elamite. The first thing to be noticed is that the confederation consisted mainly of Babylonians, under their suzerain the Elamite. For though the people last in the list, the "Goyim," cannot be identified with certainty,[1] the other two parties represent inhabitants of North and South Babylonia respectively. That is to say, if it is right to identify Arioch with Erim-Aku, and Elasar with Larsa, the matter is disposed of as far as South Babylonia is concerned, while it is unquestionable that in the mind of the Biblical narrator, Shinar was nearly equivalent to North Babylonia. The latter point invites a brief discussion.

§ 110. It was long ago conjectured that the Shinar of Genesis and the *Šumer* of the Inscriptions were originally identical. Let us see what the two terms connote in the

[1] The "Goyim" have been supposed to be the people of Gutē (§ 92). As far as the form of the word is concerned, this is indeed quite possible, if we assume that the tradition regarded the second syllable of the original name as a feminine ending, and the first syllable as the stem.

respective literatures. It has been already stated (§ 80) that Shumer is generally held to have been a designation of Southern Babylonia. Yet, as a matter of fact, there is as yet no decisive evidence as to its location. The strongest argument for the current view is the fact that the phrase, "king of Shumer and Akkad," was first used by monarchs whose capitals, beginning with Ur, lay in South Babylonia.[1] But there is really nothing to show that either Shumer or Akkad belonged to or included any portion of the south land.[2] For Akkad, after what has been said above (§ 94), the notion may be dismissed at once. The simple facts with regard to the usage of the much misinterpreted phrase are these. The kings of Ur of both dynasties, and those of Isin, as a rule, attach to their own proper titles ("king of Ur," "king of Isin") the additional dignity of "king of Shumer and Akkad." Some of them vary the decoration by employing instead the title "king of the four quarters of the world." When the latter is used, it simply means that they claimed for themselves authority over at least the central district of the old kingdom of Akkad (cf. § 90), and not only so, but actually possessed it, as we have already seen was the case with Ba'u-kīn (§ 102). When "Shumer and Akkad" is indicated, it also naturally means that the kings in question maintained jurisdiction over some territory *additional to* their own proper realm, for the title is never used by itself alone, as would certainly have been done if the dominion of "Shumer and Akkad" were an actual concrete monarchy *including* the central kingdom of Ur or Isin. What, then, is the

[1] Set forth by Winckler in his essay "Sumer and Akkad" (1887), and in UAG. p. 65 ff., for the purpose of proving that the kingdom of Shumer and Akkad was of purely southern origin. Cf. also his GBA. p. 44 ff.

[2] That is to say, unless we include Nippur (§ 94, 101, 104) in Southern Babylonia, as has usually, but erroneously, been done. But its position brings it into closest connection with Babylon and Akkad, and the presumption thus afforded is confirmed by all recent researches. It was only after the decline of the northern kingdoms that it was attached to the southern, as being the city most accessible to the latter.

region embraced under Shumer and Akkad? The answer usually given is to the effect that, while Akkad stands for North, Shumer stands for South Babylonia. But this inference is now seen to be wrong, from the simple consideration just stated, that the kings claiming this additional title already ruled over Southern Babylonia. The mystification is aggravated by the circumstance that no geographical limitation of "Shumer" has as yet been found; the word, in fact, never occurs alone in the extant inscriptions, but always in connection with "Akkad." Indeed, it might seem that the double phrase was only used in a grandiose fashion, like the "Holy Roman Empire" of later days, to give dignity to territorial claims rather than to define their extent. Yet there was doubtless a time when Shumer answered to a definite territory, and probably also a later time when "Shumer and Akkad" formed an actual monarchy. A conjecture may here be hazarded. We are as yet without information as to the condition of North Babylonia while it was still the seat of an independent monarchy, between the time of Sargon I and his successors, and the political rise of the southern states. This may very well have been the date of the kingdom of "Shumer and Akkad." Shumer was, of course, territorially attached to Akkad, else the combination is meaningless. It was naturally also nearer the southern kingdoms than was Akkad, else it would not have been mentioned regularly before it. It lay accordingly in the neighbourhood of Babylon. As to its limits we can again only conjecture. It is very significant, however, that when Tiglathpileser III made his first Babylonian expedition, it ranged from Sippar to Nippur, and that thereupon he assumed the title "king of Shumer and Akkad" (§ 293),[1] just as "Arioch" claimed the same dignity when his jurisdiction ranged as far north as Nippur (§ 108). Many

[1] Cf. Winckler, UAG. p. 70, note 2. Winckler finds it remarkable that Tiglathpileser should earn the title by going no further than Nippur; and so it would be if Shumer were situated in Southern Babylonia.

facts indicate the enormous antiquity of Nippur, and it would not be surprising if it should turn out to have been the capital of the kingdom of "Shumer," which was so ancient that it was in historic times little more than the shadow of a name.

§ 111. Reverting now to Shinar, the presumptive equivalent of Shumer, it is to be noted that the Biblical writer does use this word with a distinct geographical acceptation. And here it seems to answer pretty much to what we have just conjectured to have been the location of Shumer. From Gen. xi., where the city of Babylon is mentioned as having been built "in a plain in the land of Shinar," one would naturally infer that the country in question lay in the ancient centre of Babylonia. From the account before us in Gen. xiv., it is apparently distinguished from another kingdom, also situated in Babylonia,—at least if we are justified in making Larsa and Elasar one and the same name. And as Larsa was, in the Elamitic times, the centre of a monarchy including within its proper limits the more southerly portion of the country, we naturally think of Shinar as embracing the territory round about Babylon. At any rate, it is clear that it is the same sense intended by the writer in Gen. xiv.[1] The upshot of our inquiry, accordingly, is that the ally of the Elamites known as "Amraphel, king of Shinar," had his residence, roughly speaking, somewhere near the ancient site of Babylon, and that his dominion stretched as far south as Nippur.

§ 112. The earliest history of Babylon, the greatest city ever founded by the Semites, the largest and most opulent city ever planted in Western Asia, is lost in the obscurity which still involves the beginnings of the other

[1] Gen. x. 10 may, perhaps, include a wider reference. Yet it may also be that the concluding words of the verse do not apply at all to the cities Babylon, Akkad, and Erech, but to "Calneh," to distinguish that city from the "Calneh," or rather Kullanu (§ 305), in Northern Syria, mentioned in Amos vi. 2 ("Calno," in Isa. x. 9). The site of the Babylonian "Calneh" is not yet known. For the supposed equivalent Kulunu, see Par. 225.

famous ancient communities whose fortunes we have been considering. The name is correctly given in the Old Testament as Babel. This word is explained by the sacred writer in Gen. xi. to mean "confusion"; and in the ideographic system of its own people it is symbolized by two signs, which mean "the gate or city of a god" (*Bāb-ili*), that is, "divine city." Most recent scholars are disposed to accept without question the correctness of the latter derivation, but it may possibly be only a convenient fashion of writing the name, and may rest on a popular but erroneous etymology.[1] Other designations of Babylon found in the native literature distinguish this city as unique in its beauty and glory. The appellation most suggestive to Bible readers is the one which signalizes it as the "Grove (plantation, Paradise) of Life," and recalls to us not only the unparalleled productiveness of the surrounding region, but its situation in the centre of the district of Eden, where was the garden planted by God, in the midst of which was the tree of life.[2] The patron deity of Babylon was *Maruduk* (*Marduk*, "Merodach"). He was the son of Ea, the kindly god, the friend of men, the guardian of Eridu (§ 101), and was the bearer of his father's healing and comforting gifts to his suffering worshippers.[3] His temple in Babylon was the august Bīt-elū ("the lofty house"). The relationship to the South Babylonian deity may imply that the city was founded by a colony from near "the mouth of the Rivers," and it is significant that Merodach was a chief divinity of the Chaldæans also, — a fact which may partly explain the persistent and at last successful attempts of these dwellers by the sea to get possession of Babylon in later times.[4]

[1] Are not divine names used in such cases invariably those of individual deities, and not general terms?

[2] Cf. Par. 66; 212.

[3] IV R. 7 col. I, 17 ff.

[4] According to the Omen-tablets (§ 90) Babylon was in existence in the time of Sargon. Hilprecht (OBT. I, p. 25 f.) thinks plausibly that the somewhat defaced inscription relates that Sargon destroyed the Babylon of those days.

The familiar identification of Bēl with Babylon is to be explained by the success which attended the efforts of the people of Babel to secure and maintain the hegemony of the whole Semitic realm, of which Bēl was the traditional ethnic deity. It is unnecessary to remark that this special appreciation of Bēl in Babylon did not prejudice the claim of Bēl's own city, Nippur (§ 94), to be recognized perpetually as the seat of his proper worship. Indeed, the assumption of the august Bēl-cultus was understood to bring with it the obligation and privilege of protecting Nippur, which we may suppose to have been one of the first of the more southerly cities to acknowledge the headship of Babylon.— Very close to Babylon, on the south, lay the city of Borsippa (*Barsip*), which, in the days of the Chaldæan empire, came to be united with it in the same system of fortifications. Borsippa was famous chiefly for its magnificent temples. It was the special seat of the worship of the great god Nebo (*Nabū*), the prophet god, the patron of learning and science, the revealer of the will of the gods, the Babylonian Mercury, after whom the fourth day of the week (*Mercurii dies*, *Mercredi*) was named. That Nebo was reckoned the son of Merodach, the Babylonian Jupiter, to whom the fifth day (*Jovis dies*, *Jeudi*) was sacred, must be connected in some way with the relations of Borsippa to Babylon. A standing recognition of this association was afforded in the impressive ceremony[1] enacted at the beginning of every year, the first of Nisan, in which Nebo left his temple in Borsippa and proceeded to the temple of Merodach in Babylon, where, being joined by the latter divinity, the solemn procession was resumed. Among the famous temples of Borsippa was one designated, "House of the seven spheres of heaven and earth," a structure often rebuilt but never completed, whose vast ruins are held by most authorities to represent the "Tower of Babel" of Gen. xi.[2]

[1] Cf. Winckler, GBA. p. 35 f.

[2] See Par. p. 217; against this view Hommel, GBA. p. 232, and

§ 113. Since now the kingdom of "Amraphel, king of Shinar" is to be sought in North Babylonia, and probably embraced the city of Babylon (§ 111), it should be possible to identify his name with that of one of the contemporary rulers of that city, if these can be discovered. They have, as a matter of fact, been brought to light. Lists of all the kings of Babylon, with the length of their reigns and the names and duration of the dynasties, have been preserved in a fairly usable condition;[1] and with the help of chronological notices and references to early events in the later literature, it is possible to arrive at almost the exact date of each of the ancient rulers in question. We are thus furnished with the dates 2403–2098 B.C., as the closely approximate limits of the duration of the first dynasty. Now we have already seen that the Elamitic invasion of Erech took place about 2285 (§ 107), and a synchronism of the most satisfactory character is secured by a statement appended to a contract-tablet of *Ḫammurabi*, one of the kings of this dynasty,[2] found near Larsa, the Elamitic capital, and dated in the year when he gained a victory over the lord of Yamutbal (West Elam), and over King Arioch. Now this famous ruler appears from the list of kings just spoken of to have reigned c. 2264–2210.

§ 114. Is "Amraphel, king of Shinar" likely to have been Chammurabi himself? This is not antecedently probable, since the circumstantial statement of Gen. xiv.,

Rawlinson, FM. II, 534 f. For a description of the ruins (Birs-Nimrud) with illustrations, see FM. II, 544 ff.; for Babylon and its environs FM. II, 510 ff.; Kaulen, *Assyrien und Babylonien*, ch. v.

[1] The texts are published in PSBA. 1884, p. 193 ff., and 1888, p. 22; more fully in Winckler, UAG. p. 145–147. The first fragments were given to the world by G. Smith in 1874. The subject of Babylonian and Assyrian chronology is, as a whole, best discussed by Winckler in the work just cited (p. 1–46); cf. also Hommel, GBA. 166 ff.; Tiele, BAG. 92 ff. Winckler is skeptical about the remote date assigned by Nabonidus to Narām-Sin, but without good reason (cf. § 88).

[2] IV R.[1] 36, Nr. 21. Some expressions in the inscription, which is written ideographically, are of uncertain reading and meaning. The general sense must be as given above. Comp. KB. III, 1, p. 126–127.

which is evidently based on documentary evidence, makes the "king of Shinar" to have been an ally of the "king of Elam" twelve years, and it is hardly to be supposed that a prince of the character and vast designs of Chammurabi (§ 117) would have remained long a vassal of the Elamites. The Babylonian king concerned is much more likely to have been the father of Chammurabi, and attempts have even been made to show a possible identity of their names. The ruler in question is called in the dynastic list *Sin-muballiṭ* ("Sin keeps alive"). Now there is some evidence[1] that one of the epithets of Sin was Amar, and if this is so, and if the epithet Amar was really used for Sin in the community whence the original of the Hebrew record was derived, it may be regarded as possible, after the analogy of other constructions, that the Hebrew form *Amarpal* was a corruption of Amar-muballiṭ. The coincidence is at least striking, especially in view of the agreements between the records in other respects. The whole historical situation may be summarized as follows. About 2250 B.C., *Kudur-Lagamar* (Chedorlaomer) was king of Elam, or more probably of the western portion of it, called in the inscriptions Yamutbal. He was presumably the successor and son of Kudur-Mabug, and, like him, maintained his sway over Babylonia, with Arioch as his viceroy in Larsa, having also the kingdom of "Shinar" as a vassal state.[2] This Elamitic occupation of Babylonia, North and South, did not last very long, and the conquerors apparently did not succeed in colonizing the country with people of their own nationality; at any rate, as we shall see, the patriotic spirit of the Babylonians was not quenched by their oppressions. One of the means

[1] IV R. 9, 19 f. Sin, in this passage, as the horned moon, is addressed as a young bull, the ideogram for which has for one of its readings *amar*. Cf. the name of one of the kings of the second dynasty of Ur, which may be read either Būr-Sin or Amar-Sin. See Hommel, GBA. 213 n.

[2] This would account for the fact that the kings of Larsa could call themselves "king of Shumer and Akkad" (§ 110 f.).

employed by Kudur-Lagamar to aggrandize his suzerainty, as well as to consolidate his power, was to carry out the traditional policy of the leading Babylonian states, of spoiling and tolling the West-land with its precious woods and spices and minerals. So valuable to him was the occupation of Palestine that a revolt of the leading communities there brought upon them the whole force of the Elamitic army, together with the vassals and allies from far and near. The issue of this attempt was at first successful, and it seemed likely that the subjection of Palestine might be continued much longer, but the surprise and defeat of the victorious Easterners, upon their return march, put an end to Elamitic influence in the West. Not many years afterwards the Elamites were expelled from Babylonia itself, and the new native régime was maintained by a ruler who found his account in concentrating and developing the resources of the home land, instead of encouraging adventures in the Eldorado of the West. Further particulars of the régime of the foreigners we are not able to give (cf. § 107 f.).

§ 115. Before passing to the new era which was ushered in by the assured predominance of Babel, it will be well to cast a backward glance over the ground which has been thus far traversed and to note one or two outstanding conclusions. One thing that particularly strikes the attention and impresses the imagination is the enormous antiquity of the Semitic race. Here we have as our firm standing-ground the Semitic culture of Babylonia; and this we must recognize as a product of complex, slowly working forces. In 4000 B.C., we find spoken there a language differing in no essential respect from that used 3500 years later, grammatical forms already stereotyped, and so characteristically developed by a long process of phonetic change as to be altogether beyond the range of direct comparison with the old Proto-Semitic types from which they sprang. The obvious inference is that this original Semitic speech must have antedated the historic Baby-

lonian idiom by an unknown period filled with a busy social and corporate life, whose only record and memorial are the transmuted words and sentences of the language which was its instrument and expression. Farther, the old common Semitic speech can be proved by the vocables found in all the great branches of the family to have been the idiom of a people already well furnished with the rudimentary appliances of civilization. The attempt to sound the depths of this vast and eventful Semitic antiquity must call to its aid, not sober historic induction and calculation, but the imagination trained in the freer and less exacting school of prehistoric archæology.

§ 116. We have already been able to obtain glimpses, as through rifted clouds, of the manifold life and activity of ancient Babylonia in certain great epochs in very remote periods of human history (§ 90 f., 97). One of the most surprising revelations thus afforded is the far westward extension of Babylonian enterprise and influence. We found reason to assume that for a considerable period there was a suspension of these relations between the East and the West (§ 103), and it is not impossible that the most fruitful time of the Babylonian occupation of Syria, Palestine, and Western Arabia, until the days of the latest or Chaldæan empire, was that which we are accustomed to denote as the dawn of history, — a time which has been itself pushed immensely farther back by the results of modern research. Yet the casual information of Gen. xiv. reveals a continuance of the ancient policy of interference in the West, indicated as though it were almost a matter of course. It is evident that we have here a phenomenon much more important than a mere fortuitous succession of actions; we have to reckon with it as a chief element in the whole historical drama of Western Asia. As its results were most momentous in the history of civilization and religion, so we have seen its earliest traceable movements to have been portentously large and comprehensive. We are accordingly justified anew in attaching to it a

constant importance, commensurate with its duration and the catastrophe with which it finally closed. The fact that the ruling power of the East always claimed the West-land for itself, will become continually more manifest as our history unfolds itself; but what is specially significant, even from the present partial and defective retrospect, is the priority of Babylonia in the assertion of such a claim, and its unforgetting watchfulness for chances to make it good. And so in after times, when the Assyrian heirs of the old Babylonian idea had realized the ancient dream for themselves and then collapsed in the ruins of their own greatness, the Chaldæans of Babylonia, whom we are apt to think of as merely imitators of the Ninevites in their Western conquests, did in reality not simply take up a policy devised by their predecessors; they rather revived an imperial plan of action which had never really been relinquished by the kingdoms of the Euphrates. This conception of the unchanging perpetual relations of the East and the West throws a new light upon the whole history of the ancient Semites in Hither Asia. It explains in the most satisfactory way how it is that in the literature of the Hebrews the leading place is given to the Babylonians and not to the Assyrians, though the former in Biblical times had a supremacy of only seventy years' duration. But what we chiefly gain from it is a broader view and surer grasp of the long chain of causes that brought about the subjection of Syria and Palestine, the abasement of Israel, its servitude, its Babylonian education, its purification and deliverance (cf. § 93).

CHAPTER III

UNITED BABYLONIA

§ 117. CHAMMURABI, who has been already referred to as the liberator of Babylon and of the whole of Babylonia from the Elamitic yoke, was the sixth of his dynasty.[1] An indication has already been given of the approximate date of the overthrow and expulsion of the Elamitic oppressors, which we may tentatively place at about 2240 B.C. Of the details of the ejection of the foreigners we know nothing. It must have involved not only the freeing of Babel, Nippur, and other northern centres, but successful attacks upon the Elamitic garrisons in Larsa, Ur, and the rest of their strongholds in the South. But even if we were acquainted with all the particulars of the battles and sieges which were the occasions of his military triumphs, they would add little to the renown of one whom we must recognize on higher grounds as being the most important historic figure in ancient Babylonia. He not only restored Semitic supremacy, but maintained it; not only emancipated Babylonia from alien laws and manners, but made it a nation. Before him there was no real Babylonia, because the Babylon to whose government he succeeded was a minor principality. After him, there never ceased, till the close of ancient Semitism, to be a Babylonia, in fact if not in name, because he made his capital the centre of the East. In accomplishing these great ends his policy was as far-seeing as it was beneficent. He took advantage of the

[1] For his inscriptions, which are numerous and valuable, see especially Ménant, *Inscriptions de Hammourabi*, 1863; and KB. III, 1, p. 106 ff.; cf. § 113.

situation of Babylon to endow it with majestic works, which tended to centralize there commerce, manufactures, science, and religious worship. Chief among the undertakings by which he aimed to secure perpetually the hegemony of Babylon, were palaces and temples and canals. To foster the worship of the national deities, Merodach and Nebo, he erected two famous temples: Bīt-elū ("the lofty house") in Babylon itself, to the former; and Bīt-kēnu ("the enduring house") in the sister city, or suburb, of Borsippa, to the latter[1] (cf. § 112). Perhaps the work in which he took the greatest pride, and which best indicates his perception of the true basis of the national prosperity, was a great canal, which he called "Chammurabi's canal, the enricher of the people," and for which he claims that it increased greatly, through improved irrigation and reclaimed arable land, the wealth and comfort of his people, under the blessing of Merodach. This achievement is commemorated in a special inscription. A similar dignity and immortality is conferred upon another enterprise for the public weal, — a fortress on the banks of the Tigris, which seems to have been erected at the central point of a great embankment, to preserve the settlements along that river from the inundations to which they were periodically exposed.

§ 118. After a reign of fifty-five years, Chammurabi bequeathed the crown of Babylon and the united kingdoms of Babylonia to his son Samsu-iluna (B.C. 2209–2180). This ruler, reigning in the spirit of his father, developed still further the national system of canalization, and by strengthening his frontier against his hereditary foes across

[1] These are usually read, according to the "hieratic" values of the ideograms used in the writing of the names: *Esagila* and *Ezida* (the prefix *e* in each case meaning "house"). As to *sagila*, it is manifestly a combination of the pure Semitic words, *šaḳū* and *elū*, both meaning "high." The second temple is called Bīt-kēnu in VR. 66, II, 7, as the explanation of *Ezida*. For other temples of the same name, see ZK. II, 260. Among temples restored by this monarch was the renowned "House of the Sun" at Sippar (§ 87, 94).

the Tigris, secured the peace as well as the continued prosperity of his subjects.[1] Of the remaining reigns of this dynasty but scanty notices remain; but the unbroken transmission of the regal authority from father to son, with an average of lengthy reigns, indicates that the times were peaceful and, we may assume, fairly prosperous. Five kings after Chammurabi, till 2098 B.C., complete the list of the eleven kings of this first dynasty, who reigned in all 304 years.

§ 119. The epoch made memorable by the deeds and enterprise of Chammurabi is followed by a period of 368 years, of the occurrences of which absolutely nothing is known, except the names and regnal years of another list (cf. § 113) of eleven kings reigning in the city of Babylon. In assuming the duration of this dynasty, and even its existence, our faith in the trustworthiness of the isolated record is put to a severe test, especially when the length of reign assigned to several of the kings is considered. For example, the first-named ruler is credited with sixty years of sovereignty, the second and sixth with fifty-five, and the seventh with fifty. We are bound, however, to give credence to these carefully compiled reports, and it is an exceptionally pleasant reflection which we can make upon the dynasty as a whole, that the times must have been very peaceful when such security of administration was possible. But we find that the two reigns at the close lasted but six and nine years respectively, and this is perhaps evidence that the long tranquillity was disturbed by the foreign invaders whose predominance marks the following period.

§ 120. The foreign non-Semitic race, which for nearly six centuries (c. 1730–1153), from this time onward, held a controlling place in the affairs of Babylonia, are referred

[1] For the main inscription, see KB. III, 1, p. 130–133, and ZA. III, 153. Contract tablets of his reign IV R.[1] 36, Nr. 45 ff. Hommel (GBA. p. 408) points out that these tablets show how real estate rose in value during these reigns.

to in the inscriptions by the name *Kaššē*. These Kasshites came from the border country between Northern Elam and Media, and were in all probability of the same race as the Elamites. The references to them make them out to be both mountaineers and tent-dwellers,—a circumstance which agrees very well with the indications that their name is identical with the Κίσσιοι of the Greek historians and geographers,[1] who inhabited Susiana, or Northern Elam. Apparently, then, they occupied both the slopes of Mount Zagros and the valleys and plains to the south, the former being the source of supply, and the latter the resort of predatory bands and adventurous emigrants, such as in the ancient East were continually descending from the rugged mountain chains to the more tractable soil and the easier conditions of living to be found in the lowlands. A special interest attaches to the Kasshites, from the circumstance that their name appears to be the same as *Kōš*, the regular phonetic equivalent in Hebrew of the Babylonian *Kāš*. Accordingly, the "Cush" of our modern Bible translations (Gen. ii. 13) should be read "Kōsh," and sharply distinguished from "Cush" or Ethiopia. Among the many tribes which occupied the territory adjacent to the Rivers, the Kasshites exercised the strongest and most enduring political influence on the affairs of Babylonia, and, with the possible exception of the Aramæans, contributed most largely to swell its population and to modify the race characteristics of its inhabitants. Assuming the kinship, or, in the larger sense, the identity, of this people with the Elamites, we see what an immense tract of time was covered by the domination of Babylonia

[1] Delitzsch, Par. 129; Oppert in ZA. III, 421 ff. V, 106 f., and Jensen in ZA. VII, 328 ff. In spite of the assertions of the last two writers it is not certain, as yet, that the Κοσσαῖοι of a later date are to be associated with the Kaššē and the Κίσσιοι only by similarity of sound in the names, especially when they inhabited the region occupied by the Kaššē of the inscriptions. Historical and linguistic "Funde und Fragen" as to the Kasshites are to be found in the work of Delitzsch, *Die Kossäer*, 1884.

by these immigrants from the east and northeast; and also what an enormous antiquity and vitality must be assigned to the ancient Babylonian civilization, when we behold it for so many hundreds of years entertaining these half-barbarous strangers, and assimilating them to its own spirit and complexion (§ 121). These Kasshites, like their presumptive kindred, were imbued with an eager ambition to secure a permanent footing in Babylonia; but we do not need to assume that they were acting in any way in concert with the older Elamites, or that they desired to reassert the predominance once held by the latter. The fact is that the rich and highly cultivated soil of the interfluvial region proved a standing temptation to the dwellers in the less favoured and less civilized neighbour lands, whatever might be their racial or national associations. Conquest by wholesale invasion was out of the question after the unification and consolidation of the country, and the only method by which an outside people could obtain a footing was by gradual encroachment and appropriation of territory. These fierce mountaineers, uncivilized and unorganized into a nation, must, therefore, have secured possession of a country so totally dissimilar to their own by slow degrees and after a long succession of border raids and forcible settlements in favourable localities. A strong and united government, such as that of Chammurabi and his immediate successors, would have prevented these expeditions from rising beyond the precarious dignity and importance of marauding incursions; and the fact that the Kasshite conquest was effected at all, can only be explained on the supposition that the country was disorganized and the central power no longer able to keep in hand the provinces, which had only been drawn out of their isolation by the genius of the great founder of Babylonian nationality.

§ 121. In this Kasshite occupation, we see presented in a more striking form the same phenomenon which was already exhibited in the Elamitic domination (§ 106 ff.).

The political sway of the foreign masters was undisputed, but the genius of the government and the national type of culture and forms of activity were essentially unchanged. We find the names of the kings for hundreds of years prevailingly foreign, and even geographical designations, such as that for Babylonia itself ("*Karduniaš*"), as shown by their structure, and particularly by their endings, came to be of Kasshite make. Even Kasshite deities were introduced and popularly acknowledged, though not to the exclusion of the native divinities,—a fact which of itself sufficiently proves that no sudden violent subjugation of the country on a large scale was undertaken by the mountaineers. The Kasshite kings, and the immigrants who came with them, and who doubtless grew to be a large element among the ruling classes, were thoroughly Babylonianized. Hence we are prepared to find the old policy of political and commercial extension westward sedulously pursued, and the development of the internal resources of the country steadily maintained. Such a phenomenon is quite unmatched in modern history. For its parallels we must look to the ancient world, where we sometimes find a community of the highest culture lying close beside a people wholly untutored, but vigorous and aggressive, and eager to appropriate the fruits of a civilization which they could only vaguely understand. So absolute was the contrast between the Kasshites and the Babylonians, in political as well as general cultural development, that the former, while able to hold their new possessions by virtue of their unspoiled natural virility and energy, could only utilize the manifold resources of the country by adapting themselves to the requirements of its varied civilization. While an amalgamation of races was perpetually going on in Babylonia, no mixture or compromise was possible in manners or ruling ideas or conceptions of life. Through century after century, and millennium after millennium, the dominant genius of Babylonia remained the same. It conquered all its conquerors, and moulded them to its own

likeness by the force of its manifold culture, by the appliances as well as the prestige of the arts of peace. Its military strongholds had to be surrendered one after the other; but its intellectual vantage-ground raised it above rivalry, and even above interference, in those elements and qualities of life and influence which are the most vital and enduring, because they are the hardest to achieve and therefore the slowest to be parted with.

§ 122. It will be instructive to dwell a moment longer on this topic, and note the underlying causes of this singular historical phenomenon. The Babylonians were not able to maintain perpetually their political autonomy or integrity, not because they were not brave or patriotic, for their history testifies both to their courage and their attachment to their institutions. They were, besides, continually replenished with accessions of warlike elements, and there was therefore no risk of their yielding to the effeminating influences of their great material prosperity. The reasons for their subordination to outside peoples lie in the conditions already suggested. They were not, first and foremost, a military people. Their energies were mainly spent in trade and manufacture, in science and art. Devotion to intellectual pursuits of itself powerfully conduced to a peaceful disposition and conciliatory manners; while the accumulation of valuable property by great numbers of private citizens engendered shyness of aggressive conflicts, and tended to encourage compromise with invaders rather than prolonged resistance. In this feature of Babylonian national character, there is a striking resemblance to the disposition of the Phœnician cities (§ 42, 44). Indeed, it was a condition of the very existence of a great commercial and manufacturing community in the ancient East that it should sacrifice much for the sake of peace, as contrasted with those kingdoms which became rich and powerful through the plunder of conquered lands. This fact suggests at once a marked distinction between the older Babylonia and her great

colony, Assyria, which became her conqueror. Another important historical inference may be drawn, with relation to the motives which urged these two communities to interfere in the West-land. What we have seen already of the expeditions into Syria, Palestine, and Western Arabia which started from Babylonia under one régime and another, from the time of Sargon onward, goes to show that they were undertaken, not merely from religious motives and lust of power, but chiefly with the view of getting control of important industries or natural productions. The history of Assyrian and Chaldæan aggression, on the other hand, will show us that their love of conquest and spoliation and absolute dominion furnished the principle impulse. But there was, finally, another feature of the Babylonian character which perhaps operated most strongly to divert the minds of both rulers and people from a predominating occupation with military affairs. The people of Babylonia were first and last and always a religious people. Amongst them were the chief seats of the gods who ruled the Semitic world; here were the most ancient shrines, the earliest and most authentic traditions, the sacred cities, the most august ritual, the most magnificent temples. So portentous and sacrosanct were these prerogatives that the spectacle, unique in Semitic lands, was here afforded, of the successive conquerors of the country vying with the native rulers in care and reverence for the immemorial religion and rites of the land and the cities they subdued. In this respect, again, a contrast with Assyria at once suggests itself. While the monarchs of the latter country give in their annals and formal inscriptions generally the leading place to an account of their achievements in war, and seem to attach a secondary importance even to their sedulous care for the consecrated abodes of the gods, the Babylonian state records from the very earliest times are devoted almost exclusively to the building and renewing of temples. Now, all the work of preserving, and multiplying or embellishing the temples,

and providing for the due performance of the multifarious rites of the several national cults, must have involved a heavy drain on the resources of the people, and their interest being correspondingly enlisted in the whole system, a place below the highest must have been assigned to the affairs of the camp and the field, vitally important as these often proved to be. In brief, the people who gave tone and character to the several communities of Babylonia, and to the country as a whole, were not the king and his officers, civil and military; but, on the one hand, the priestly class, with their clerical force and their staff of assistants, the corps of astrologers and astronomers, the teachers and students of the sacred sciences and the related learning, the judges, magistrates, and lawyers;[1] and, on the other hand, the great merchants and manufacturers, the engineers and architects, with their vast army of employees. To revert once more to Assyria by way of contrast, it may be pointed out that just as soon as she came to be imbued with the love of culture her military power began to decline. The time was long in coming to the world when it would be possible for any state both to encourage intellectual enterprise and to preserve its most precious fruits.

§ 123. The time which the native historiographers allow to the new dynasty is 577 years, as we learn from the continuation of the list of kings already mentioned (§ 119). This means, doubtless, that a single influence was predominant during all this long period, that no irruption from without or uprising from within was sufficiently serious to shake the dominion of the race of freebooters from the northeastern mountains. Accordingly, if we find any ruler cited within these limits of time whose name is plainly

[1] The multitude and variety of the "contract tablets" and kindred documents which are extant from the time of Chammurabi onwards, as well as the copies of ancient social and business laws which have been preserved, are, of themselves, a sufficient indication of the activity of this class of Babylonian citizens.

Semitic, the phenomenon is to be explained upon the natural assumption that the adoption of Babylonian manners brought with it eventually a change in the proper names of the ruling class, though these are the last of all species of words to be affected by linguistic environment. Of the earlier kings of this dynasty we know nothing but the names, and of the nature of their conquest we know nothing definitely. An inscription[1] which we fortunately possess, thanks to the zeal of scholars of the Assyrian king Asshurbanipal, who copied it from its Babylonian original, gives us some interesting facts about a time not very remote from the final establishment of the Kasshite régime. It proceeds from a ruler, Agum (-kak-rime) by name (c. 1600 B.C.), who was apparently the seventh king of the new dynasty. From his titles we see clearly that the Kasshites were now the ruling race; that Babylonia proper was reckoned one of their subject states; that the borderland between Elam and Babylonia had been annexed; and that all the country north to the Lower Zab and east to Media was consolidated under the same dominion. The most interesting portion of the inscription is that which relates to a certain country named *Ḫānu*, from which Agum-kak-rime obtained, through an embassy sent for that purpose, the images of the god Merodach and his spouse Zarpanit, which had been taken away from Babylon. This region is proved to have been a portion of Northern Syria.[2] The account is of value, in the first place, as indicating the degree of political decline into which Babylon had lapsed when its chief deities had been abducted by foreign invaders. The act of Agum-kak-rime in securing their restoration was, of course, a measure for Babylonia of self-

[1] V R. 33. See Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 56 ff.; Hommel, GBA 421 ff.; Jensen in KB. III, 1, p. 134 ff.; cf. TSBA. III, 373 ff. IV, 138 ff.

[2] Hommel GBA. 424 f.; Jensen in KB. III, 1 *l.c.* Hommel thinks that the name is connected with *Ḫattē* (Hettites) by the addition of the feminine ending. If this were proved, the facts above detailed would have great historic significance.

preservation, for without her gods her autonomy was seriously impaired. Again, the rehabilitation and adornment of the statues and the embellishment of the proper temple of Babylon (Bīt-elū, § 117), which are described circumstantially, indicate the unabated resources and accumulated wealth of the land which the Kasshite rulers were restoring to power. Finally, the deportation of the precious statues to the region mentioned, and the negotiations for their return, furnish a suggestive glimpse into the relations between the East and West. We have been accustomed to think of Babylonia as the aggressor in any sort of conflict with the Western peoples, and there is abundant evidence in monuments lately discovered (§ 153 f.), of influence widespread and profound, and lasting for many centuries, exercised by the Babylonian mind over Syria and Palestine,—so thoroughgoing, indeed, that the instance just mentioned of an invasion from the West must be regarded as quite exceptional. Moreover, as we shall see presently (§ 149), the rulers of the Kasshite era were as eager as their predecessors to maintain Babylonian control among the Western peoples, as far as it could be exerted.

§ 124. We are now come to a point in the history of Babylonia where we have the clearest signs that her long predominance is at an end. To account for her changed position and the altered face of Western Asia generally, it will be necessary to look at the other leading communities, old or new, which came to be her competitors. In the history of the next thousand years, till the rise of the Chaldæan monarchy, Babylonia will necessarily occupy a secondary place. The causes which thus restricted her influence to her own proper home decided also the fate of the West-land. The determining political force during most of this long period was Assyria, a Babylonian colony which finally dominated both the mother country and all the rest of Hither Asia. Accordingly, this great monarchy will occupy a leading place in the subsequent narrative.

We can, however, best deal with its rise and achievements, as well as with Semitic affairs generally, after we have considered the early condition of the West-land, whose fate was so closely bound up from the beginning with that of the empires of the Euphrates and Tigris.

BOOK III

CANAANITES, EGYPTIANS, AND HETTITES

CHAPTER I

PALESTINE AND ITS EARLIEST PEOPLES

§ 125. IN connection with the early history of the Babylonian and neighbouring Mesopotamian lands, we had occasion to describe the territory lying to the east of the Euphrates (§ 71 f.). To the ancients, the dividing-line of the whole of Western Asia was the Great River[1] (cf. § 22). But with the making of the historic countries of the West-land the Euphrates had nothing to do; for, turning off sharply from the coast, it gave its waterways and its potential riches to the East. Of the immense region on the hither side of the River, but a small strip of highland along the Mediterranean is to be taken account of for our present purposes, since the desert remainder was the home of Arabs, of the South Semitic stock, who only incidentally and in a very subsidiary way contributed to the development of pre-Christian civilization. Closely associated in cultural development with this territory, was the island of Cyprus, nearly as large as Palestine, within a day's sail of Northern Phœnicia. This ridge of land

[1] The Hebrew conception is familiar from the frequent allusions of the Old Testament. The Babylonian view of the matter may be gathered, for example, from V R. 64, col. I, 41, where Nabonidus speaks of Gaza and "the Upper Sea on the other side of the Euphrates."

between the sea and desert had not more than forty or fifty miles of average breadth, with a length of four hundred miles. It might be divided roughly into four regions. In the north were the deep valleys and high mountains of the spurs of the Taurus range, chiefly Mount Amanus, reaching as far south as Antioch and the mouth of the Orontes River. Then come three very remarkable stretches of highland: the first unequally divided by the Orontes, reaching as far south as Hamath and Arvad; the second more equally divided into Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon by the upper course of the Orontes and by the Litany, extending to the foot of Hermon; and the third cleft by the deep-flowing Jordan. With these four sections corresponds, in general, the popular and useful division into North, Central, and Southern Syria, and Palestine. How these districts came to be occupied in historic times we shall have occasion to mention later (§ 161 f., 201 f.; cf. 24 ff.). In the earliest ages we know only with certainty of Canaanites and Amorites, as far north as Cœlo-Syria; and it is not until the Egyptian wars in Asia that we begin to learn vaguely something of the peoples of Middle and Northern Syria.

§ 126. Anything like exact knowledge of the ancient inhabitants of these regions can be gained only of the Canaanitic branch of the family (§ 24, 26). When and where they first established themselves in permanent settlements are matters which elude, and perhaps always will elude, exact historical research.[1] We may take for granted that the time was subsequent to the development of the country along the Lower Euphrates, which was naturally seized by the first settled people of the race (§ 23), as being, among all the regions occupied by the Semites, the most easily utilized for extensive agricultural operations. Whether the occupation of the West-land preceded the earliest development of Egypt is more difficult to determine. As to the question of the actual earlier civilization, the presumption is in favour of the latter country, though

[1] Cf. Note 3, on the Phœnician settlements, in the Appendix.

a large part of Palestine, at least, may have been occupied by Semitic nomads, before land was cultivated and village life instituted in the valley of the Nile. The Semites who crossed the Isthmus and whose descendants, intermingling with an African race, became the ancestors of the historic ancient Egyptians, must have known of the fertile pasture-lands of Moab and Bashan, and we may therefore suppose that some of their contemporaries made at least a temporary occupation of these districts. In fact, we may assume that the same influx into Palestine of Arabian settlers from the desert, which we know to have constantly taken place in historical times, was begun and continued in the earliest stages of organized Semitism. But we would probably go very far wrong, if we were to imagine that Canaan was entirely peopled from this source. Apart from the problematic origin of the Amorites (§ 131), we have to hold that the main stock of the oldest settlements of Canaan was not of Arabian derivation. Just as in the later better-known times the immigrants from the South changed their language and their manners by being absorbed into the predominating Canaanitic population, so it must have been in prehistoric ages, else the character of the people of Canaan, their religion, and their institutions generally, would have been very different from what their whole accessible record shows them to have been. We have rather to represent the peopling of Canaan as having been effected from the North, and under the following general conditions. The ancestors of Canaanites, Aramæans, and Babylonians alike, are shown, by the conclusive evidence of linguistic community and similarity of institutions, to have once lived in close association as nomads in some portion of the ancient Semitic realm. According to our best light, their camping-ground was northeast Arabia (§ 21). The Babylonians having utilized the Lower Euphrates valley, the Canaanites also became weaned from the life of the desert, and in the search for the conditions of a more settled habitation, they followed the Euphrates,

and finally crossed it, being perhaps pushed onward by their kindred of Aramæan stock, who followed in their steps, but yet deferred till historical times their passage of the River in a collective capacity (§ 201). The advanced sections moved on westward, and occupying the sea-land, became Phœnician mariners and merchants. The succeeding bodies settled with their flocks and herds in the valleys and on the mountain slopes of the central highlands. The two divisions thus formed two types of people, though so closely allied in all the marks of unity of race. Which of the two bands or groups of colonists first developed into cultured city-builders we cannot as yet certainly tell. Of the Canaanites as a whole, we can speak negatively on this general question with some confidence. The rise of cities and the growth of a high order of culture was in this Mediterranean coast-land necessarily a very slow and gradual process, for the reason that large tracts of arable land do not exist in that diversified region; and agriculture, the necessary basis of a complex civilization, was always pursued there under serious disadvantages as compared with Egypt and Babylonia. No important city, in fact, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, owed the decisive beginnings of its growth to the richness of the circumjacent soil. Carchemish and Damascus were trading-posts, the latter in a sort of oasis; Tyre and Sidon were the product of a manifold commerce; and Jerusalem, as a town of more than tribal or sectional importance, was a creation of political and religious life. The contrast with the old-time cities on the Euphrates and the Nile is striking and obvious. The political and social development of Palestine and Syria was accordingly slow; and whatever view we may hold as to priority in the initial stage, we have to concede that in culture and material progress they were in the earliest historical times left far behind by Egypt and Babylonia.

§ 127. Another consequence of the diversified character of the physical geography of this region was the fact that

it helped to prevent an amalgamation of the various tribes and races that settled in it. The highlands and the lowlands, the pasture-grounds and the wooded hills, the outlying wildernesses, and the well-watered mountain slopes and plains, not only gave rise to a great variety of pursuits among the population, but served also to perpetuate local and tribal distinctions. Hence the bewildering classification of the inhabitants found in the earliest books of the Bible. The cleavage reaches much deeper than any popular division, such as that into peasants or "Perizzites," villagers or "Hivites," and Bedawin or "mixed multitude." The distinction between Amorite and Canaanite is, for example, consciously kept up by Old Testament writers (§ 134); and the separate existence of Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite continued to the very end of Old Testament history. Thus the physical conditions of their habitat had as much to do with the mutual repulsion of the communities of Palestine as had the political tendencies and traditions which they shared in large measure with the rest of the Semitic peoples (§ 35, 37).

§ 128. The geographical position of Palestine, ending as it did the long, crescent-shaped belt of habitable land that stretched from the Persian Gulf along the borders of the desert to the frontiers of Egypt, made it for long ages the natural goal of the military and commercial expeditions undertaken by the kings of Babylonia. Afterwards, when Egypt had come to be a leading power in the world, the same region offered a suitable field for the ambition of that monarchy, whose progress eastward was impeded, not by Canaanites alone, but by Hettites, Aramæans, and Assyrians. Thus Palestine came to be the chief battle-ground of Western Asia, just as in times much later it played the same passive but fateful rôle, as lying close to the great highway trodden by Persian, Greek, and Roman armies, and, later still, by Saracens and Crusaders. Of great importance also was its intermediate position for trade and commerce. Not only in maritime enterprise, in which its

few natural harbours made it a pioneer and a leader (§ 42, 66), but in land traffic also, it long played a most influential even if auxiliary and intermediary part, since it furnished the high-road between Babylonia, Assyria, or Mesopotamia, and Egypt or Southern Arabia. It is obvious, however, that unless their whole territory were to be compacted into a single homogeneous state, Palestine and Syria could never hold a position in the affairs of the world equal to that maintained by Babylonia, Assyria, or Egypt. Indeed, the importance of the West-land lay in the fact that it was coveted and its possession striven for over and over again by each of these leading monarchies. Its advantages to any power which should possess or control it are already indicated in what has just been stated. Its natural resources were not to be despised. But more important still were its seaports and its fortresses, by which the trade by sea and land could be secured and utilized. Any foreign state that took tribute from Damascus and Tyre made these communities its agents in tolling the richly laden caravans that did most of the traffic of Western Asia, and the "ships of Tarshish," which bore to the distributing-point in Phœnicia the costly freights of Western and Southern Europe. Again, the actual possession by Egypt, Babylonia, or Assyria, of such a fortress as Jerusalem or Samaria, guaranteed the absolute integrity of the intervening territory. Considerations such as these must be borne in mind in connection with the whole history of Israel, especially in their bearings upon its foreign policy.

§ 129. Who were the primitive inhabitants of Palestine it is impossible to determine. The Bible, which interferes in political history to tell in detail the story of Palestine alone, begins its continuous narrative at a comparatively late date in historic times, and alludes very meagrely to prehistoric conditions. Its statements as to early peoples and localities, supplemented from Egyptian and Babylonian sources, we shall attempt to summarize in this and the

following sections. The country which we call Palestine, extending from Mount Hermon to Mount Seir, and from Hauran to the Mediterranean Sea, is parted into two great divisions by the valley of the Jordan. This natural separation is recognized by the Old Testament, which calls the country west of the Jordan Canaan, and names the eastern section Gilead. There was no wider designation for the whole country than Canaan, and after the Hebrews had occupied it, the name Israel took its place, though not to the exclusion of the old appellation.[1] Inasmuch as the Bible interests itself primarily not in places but in their inhabitants, the name "Canaan" is naturally to be considered as the country of the "Canaanites." This latter term normally takes the lead in the familiar enumerations of tribes and peoples which occupied the whole country before the incursion of the Israelites. We can therefore better understand its somewhat variable usage after we have defined the accompanying Gentile designations. It should be observed, in general, however, that for the question of priority of occupation of the country, the old Babylonian designations are of more significance than the Biblical terms, since they belong to a much earlier period.

§ 130. Along with the Canaanites appear the Amorites, Hettites, Hivites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and Girgashites.[2] Of these the "Hettites" were small parties of colonists who, after their Northern conquerors obtained a footing in Syria (§ 157 ff.), may have moved onward in detachments and settled in Southern Palestine. They never exercised any influence as a people in the affairs of the country.[3] The "Hivites, villagers," had their chief seat, according to the

[1] See 1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 K. vi. 23. In Isa. xix. 24 "Israel" is evidently equivalent to "Canaan" in v. 18.

[2] In Gen. xv. 19–21, the usual group of seven is augmented to ten. The Hivites are dropped, and to the Rephaim who take their place are added, "Kenite, Kenizzite, and Kadmonite." See also Gen. x. 15–18.

[3] In Josh. xi. 3, the LXX read (cf. Jud. iii. 3): "Hettites under Hermon." With this compare the amended reading 2 S. xxiv. 6: "to the land of the Hettites, to Kadesh." This shows that the Old Testament

received text, to the east and northeast of Mount Hermon.[1] But they had several cities in Central Palestine, notably Shechem and Gibeon.[2] The "Jebusites" were merely the inhabitants of Jebus, the ancient name of the fortress of Zion. The "Perizzites" seem to have designated the peasants, or dwellers in the open country, as distinguished from the residents of the towns. Of the "Girgashites" nothing is known,[3] and they could have formed at most a very insignificant section of the people. The local and comparatively unimportant character of these tribes is thus manifest. Quite otherwise was it with the remaining member of the group, the Amorites. As the true relations of this people are difficult to determine, it will be well to see how they are distinguished in the Hebrew records from the Canaanites.

§ 131. The following is a fair summary of a strictly Biblical investigation. First, "Canaanite" is both a geographical and ethnical term. Second, neither the land of Canaan nor the people are ever assigned to the east of the Jordan. Third, they are confined, as a race, to the coast-land of Palestine and the "Sidonian" country north of the plain of Jezreel, as far as the Jordan. Finally, "Canaanite" may be used for the inhabitants of any part of the land west of Jordan, or the "land of Canaan," even when the same peoples are elsewhere designated by their proper tribal or racial and local name. This usage may

recognizes the other more influential Hettite settlement outside the limits of Canaan, though these references are to be taken in a vague, traditional sense (§ 201).

[1] Josh. xi. 3 (cf. vs. 8, 17, 19); Jud. iii. 3. But perhaps Hettites is to be read here in each case. Cf. Wellhausen, *Text Samuelis*, p. 218, and Meyer, ZATW. I, 126.

[2] Gen. xxxiv. 2; Josh. ix. 17. In Josh. ix. 7 the people of Gibeon are called Hivites, but in 2 S. xxi. 2 they are reckoned among the Amorites. It is plain, however, that here the term Amorites is used in the wide sense (see below), for the pre-Israelitish inhabitants generally of the central highlands.

[3] The "Gergesenes," Matt. viii. 28, is notoriously a false reading for "Gerasenes" — east of the sea of Galilee.

fairly be claimed to have a geographical basis. "Amorite," on the other hand, is always a racial and not a geographical expression.[1] The Amorites are never placed in the coast-land, nor in any locality in the northern half of Canaan proper, nor in any of the great valleys[2] or the lowlands generally. The places definitely assigned them are in the highest lands west of the Jordan. From their prominence in the early times of the Israelitish settlement, they are, however, sometimes used roughly for the peoples generally with whom Israel had to do east of the coast-land. Yet the two terms are really not coextensive or interconvertible beyond definable limits, as is shown by the fact that while "Canaanite" is sometimes used for "Amorite" in the racial sense, "Amorite" is never used for "Canaanite" in the same sense. The conclusion would therefore seem to be justified that in the Old Testament the two names answer to two distinct peoples, though it is impossible as yet to say with certainty how far the one was removed from the other in point of origin and date of settlement.[3] As to the old theory that the Canaanites inhabited the lowlands[4] of Palestine, and the Amorites the highlands, it appears to correspond on the whole, how-

[1] The Egyptian usage seems to confirm this distinction; for while it is called *pa Kan'ana*, "the Canaan" (an appellative), it is also called the land *Amur*, "the land of the Amorites." So apparently the Assyrian equivalent of the latter (§ 133).

[2] Jud. i. 34 cannot be justly regarded as an exception, since the valley of Ajalon is 700 feet above the sea, and of small extent.

[3] Too much stress cannot be laid upon the nomenclature of the ancient Babylonians as providing criteria of relative antiquity among the peoples of Western Asia. Now it appears that they called the country "the land of Amur" (§ 133) from the earliest times, while "Canaan" was disregarded by them. Hence we may assume, in the mean time, that the Amorites occupied and gave distinction to Palestine before the entrance of the Canaanites. The Egyptian names furnish no ground for an opinion either way.

[4] Professor G. F. Moore, in PAOS. 1890, p. 67 ff., disproves the old theory that כנען means "low country." This derivation has long been considered dubious, and etymology is naturally a very subordinate kind of evidence here.

ever casually, pretty nearly with the Biblical statements.[1]

§ 132. A few words will suffice to set forth the ancient Egyptian and Babylonian conceptions of Palestine, Syria, and their peoples, as far as our meagre knowledge extends. Naturally we learn of Western Asia from the Egyptian monuments only after it was brought into close relations with Egypt, that is, only after the days of the old empire of Memphis. The name *Zahi* seems to have been employed to designate the whole region between the southern border of Palestine and the Euphrates, while various appellations were given to its several natural divisions. Palestine was known as *pa Kana'na*, "the Canaan," also *Rutenu*. The latter, a favourite name, having been extended to the whole of Syria, a distinction was made between "Upper Rutenu" or the high lands of Palestine, and "Lower Rutenu," or the low lands of Syria proper and Cœlo-Syria. The latter region was also, in the Hettite times, called "the great land of *Ḫetta*," but this is scarcely a geographical term in the strict sense. The Phœnician coast-land was called *Kaftu*. Edom was known as *Adem* as early as the twelfth dynasty. Western Mesopotamia was referred to under the Aramaic form *Naharain*, the well-known Biblical נהרים, the same country, virtually, which its inhabitants in the fifteenth century called *Mītāni*. The peoples inhabiting these districts were denominated in general *Ámu*[2] — possibly a relic of the old Egyptio-Semitic times. The Biblical Amorites are recognized in the phrase "the land of *Amur*." Another designation of the people of Palestine

[1] This view is still maintained by some careful modern scholars such as George Adam Smith (Historical Geography of Palestine, in *Expositor*, 1892). The whole theory of a distinction between the peoples is rejected by a group of distinguished critics in favour of the opinion that "Canaanite" and "Amorite" virtually mean the same thing, the two words being used by two different authors of the Hexateuch. The influence of these authorities is so great that it will be necessary to make a fuller statement of their main positions. See Note 4 in Appendix.

[2] Cf. Hebr. עם, "people"?

is *Ḫaru*.[1] The inhabitants of Kaftu, or Phœnicia, are called *Fenḫu* (cf. Φοίνικες). The nomads of North and Northwest Arabia and Southern Palestine are known to the Egyptians as *Šasu* or "Shepherds,"[2] or Bedawin.[3]

§ 133. In the Assyrian and Babylonian records the general name of Palestine, including Phœnicia, is *māt Amūri*.[4] Along with this we have *māt Ḫattē* (or *Ḫettē*), the land of the Hettites, which was originally applied to Northern Syria, but in the later inscriptions (*e.g.* those of Sinacherib) was extended to include Palestine also, and even Cyprus. This island, of the very first importance from the earliest times, was by the Egyptians called *Asi* (from which possibly we have the name Asia) and by the Assyrians, *Yatnan*. From the ninth century onward, frequent reference is made in the cuneiform Inscriptions to the several political divisions of Palestine and Syria, and that usually by names familiar to us from the Old Testament. They do not need to be enumerated here, as we shall have frequent occasion to cite them later. It is noteworthy that the name "Israel" is, so far, found only once (§ 228), and then it designates the "Northern kingdom," which is elsewhere called *Samerīna*.

[1] The word very strikingly suggests the supposed *Aḫāru*, "the West" of the Babylonians or Assyrians; but see below for another reading of the latter.

[2] Cf. Gen. xlvi. 34.

[3] In the above details I have mainly followed Meyer, GA. § 180. Cf. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, p. 175 ff.

[4] That is, the land of Amur. Usually the word has been read *Aḫāru(i)*, which would literally mean "west" (אחור). It would, however, be strange that the Babylonians should pick out Palestine alone, of all western countries, as the "Western land." Proper names of countries are not wont to be coined in such a fashion. That the name of the country should be used later as a synonym for "West," is natural enough. On the other hand, we have the country called the land of the Amorites by the Egyptians (see above); and the El Amarna tablets use the word before us for Palestine, even those written from Phœnicia itself (Br. M. collection, Nr. 13; see note to p. xlvii by the editors), which could hardly be done if the word meant "West-land." If the reading *Amūru* is accepted, it would go far to show the priority of the Amorites over the Canaanites in the occupation of Palestine (§ 131, n.).

CHAPTER II

ASIATIC WEST-LAND AND EGYPT

§ 134. PERMANENT relations between Egypt and the neighbouring countries of Western Asia were first established through the commercial interests and enterprise of the former. From the earliest known times the Sinaitic peninsula was brought into closest association with Egypt. On the one hand, the nomadic tribes of the desert were more and more tempted to undertake predatory raids across the Isthmus as Egypt grew more attractive through her increasing riches; on the other, the civilized dwellers on the Nile gradually learned to prize and to work the copper and malachite deposits of the Peninsula, and to appropriate a share of the products of South and West Arabia, which they brought by ferries over the Red Sea. Thus the garrisons which watched the frontier to guard against invasion assumed a wider jurisdiction in securing the undisturbed possession of the mines, and watching the spice-bearing caravans. It was in such a way, and not merely through geographical propinquity, that the immemorial claim of Egypt to the control of the Peninsula was established, — a claim which has been maintained through countless changes of rulers and dynasties up to the present day. The earliest Egyptian king of whom we know anything definite, Snefru, of the Fourth Dynasty (c. 3000 B.C.), was probably the actual founder of the Egyptian rule in Northwest Arabia. The influence thus early secured was maintained all through the times of the old Memphitic régime, though sometimes at a heavy cost,

as we find that Pepi (c. 2600), in the Sixth Dynasty, had to make a large levy of troops among the subject people of Nubia, in order to contend in Asia with great Semitic hordes whom he succeeded in subduing in five successive campaigns.

§ 135. Quite different was the history of Egypt's earliest associations with Palestine. We know of no attempt on the part of the rulers of the Nile Valley to occupy by force or otherwise any part of the land of Canaan up to the time of the régime of the Hyksos, who were themselves of an Asiatic origin. That they had, however, an interest in the country from the time of the foundation of their own empire is morally certain. The caravan traffic, passing from Southern and Western Arabia through Palestine and Syria, with Babylonia as its main ultimate destination, formed a motive for Egyptian concern in Asiatic affairs which co-operated with the natural desire to secure a share of the products of Palestine, as well as of the growing maritime trade of the Phœnician cities. At first, doubtless, intercourse with Palestine was carried on indirectly through the medium of foreign caravans; but in the Twelfth Dynasty we find clear indications of lively and close communication.[1] But while the Egyptians do not appear to have attempted an occupation of Palestine till a comparatively late period, the inhabitants of the latter country seem to have joined with the peoples of Arabia from much more remote times in their incursions into the Delta. We learn, for example, that in the Ninth and Tenth dynasties (c. 2300) a great invasion of Egypt was made by the Amu, or Palestinians, and the Shasu, and that the country was for a time actually under their control.[2] The prosperous times of the renowned Twelfth Dynasty (c. 2130–1930) were followed by a period of

[1] See Meyer, GA. § 98.

[2] Nearly coincident in date with the Elamitic and Babylonian invasions of Palestine (Gen. xiv. § 109 ff.). May not the one have been the occasion of the other?

anarchy, and then came the rule of the "Shepherd Princes," or Hyksos.

§ 136. The invasion and domination of the Hyksos, so memorable in Egyptian history, are chiefly of interest to us here in as far as we can trace among this famous people a Canaanitic intermixture. That the Hyksos were Semites of one sort or another is not certain, but is very probable. At any rate, there followed in their train a multitude of Canaanites, lured on, with other tribes, by the promise of a wholesale invasion of the richest and most assailable of the Western lands. And these immigrants formed the controlling element for centuries in Northern Egypt, and left deep traces of their occupation upon the subsequent history of the whole country. Hereafter, Canaanitic proper names abounded in Egypt; the language took up many Canaanitic words, and deities worshipped by the same race came to be honoured throughout the entire Nile Valley. Antecedently, one would be inclined to assign the Hyksos to the Semitic race, unless we assume without any warrant that these adventurers came from beyond the Taurus or the Tigris, since the whole country from the Great Sea to the mountains of Media, and from Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean, was in the exclusive possession of Semitic peoples. In fact, the second part of the Greek word Hyksos has been plausibly associated with the Šasu; according to Manetho,[1] the whole word means "Princes of the Shepherds" (Eg. *ḥek* = "prince"). It is, to be sure, difficult upon this hypothesis to explain the supposed representations of the Hyksos kings on the contemporary monuments, which show a physiognomy of broad faces and upturned lips unlike that of any branch of the Semitic race. It is not certain, however, that these monuments, which are very few, do really represent the "Shepherd Princes." Some authorities regard them as standing for the original inhabitants

[1] Josephus against Apion, ch. 14. *Hyksos* should be *Hykusos*, that is the singular was written by mistake for the plural "Princes of the *Šasu*."

of the district, similar types, according to Mariette Bey, being found in Menzaleh at the present time.

§ 137. To judge from the scanty evidence at our disposal, the most influential element in these troops of invaders were people of Palestine rather than the more familiar freebooters of Arabia. The best evidence of this is the fact that the divinities introduced into Egypt in consequence of their occupation were, as indicated above, North Semitic, among them being Ba'al, Astarte, and Rešep,[1] the Phœnician Vulcan. It is probable, indeed, that the Egyptian relations of the Patriarchs, as recorded in venerable Hebrew traditions, were connected in some way with the movements of the nomads of Palestine and the border-land towards the fertile pastures of the Delta. It is certainly not a mere coincidence that is indicated in the information of Num. xiii. 22, to the effect that Hebron, in Southern Palestine, "was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt," Zoan or Tanis being the Hyksos capital. As will appear presently, the type of civilization prevalent in Palestine in this epoch was pastoral rather than agricultural, the country being traversed by a population liable, like the Patriarchs, to change their residence at any time. On the other hand, it would be too much to say that the invading hosts were wholly or even principally Canaanitic. Their number alone is an indication to the contrary. It has been the custom to seek the origin of these mysterious strangers in some remote region of Western Asia, and to ascribe their migration to the pressure of the Scythians, or some such equally obscure and formidable race of barbarians. It is not necessary to go so far from the borders of Egypt to find the home of the immigrants. They were most probably inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia, who were urged irresistibly westward, partly by lust of spoliation and conquest, and partly by indisposition to pay toll and tribute to the ubiquitous and exacting Babylonian,

[1] Meyer, GA. § 109.

whose pressure had perhaps been already felt in the preceding great Asiatic invasion of Egypt (§ 135).

§ 138. A broadly and indistinctly drawn picture of what Palestine and Syria were about 2000 B.C. may be delineated somewhat as follows. Of the country east of Jordan, we can only infer from later indications that the fertile plains of Moab were occupied by shepherds with their flocks, and that the spices and incense of Gilead had begun to attract cultivators and traders (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25). Of the western country, the central and southern portions were as yet but sparsely inhabited. Palestine, as a whole, was still a land of shepherds. A glance at the contour of the country will show how the cultural development which was reached in the days of Joshua in the thirteenth century was so long delayed. The occupation of a few fertile districts, with perhaps occasional cultivation of the soil, could make the whole country neither rich nor prosperous, and Palestine would probably never have become the thickly settled land which it was in its flourishing times if it had not been for the proximity of more advanced communities. It was a slow process to learn to utilize the rains and mountain brooks for purposes of irrigation, and to make the countless denuded hills vie in productiveness with the valleys below (cf. § 126).

§ 139. Yet it would in all likelihood be a mistake to suppose that in 2000 B.C. the land was entirely given up to flocks and herds, to shepherds and Bedawin. The rich Philistian plain, and still more the fertile vale of Jezreel, were doubtless already the home of a settled population, and the necessities of supply for the growing agricultural communities led to the establishment here and there of villages and towns. Moreover, it was through these districts that the great roads of traffic ran, and the most flourishing of these rudimentary cities would be those which were the halting-places of caravans and drovers. In this way grew up the towns of which we read in Egyptian and cuneiform Palestinian documents of a few centuries

later (§ 152), and whose number and importance at that date make it more than probable that many of them were founded before 2000 B.C. To the localities in Central and Southern Palestine, whose names occur in the patriarchal history, we must not ascribe any very great importance. Yet some of them were more than mere sacred shrines, the gathering-places for the worship of local divinities. Fortresses like Jerusalem, and frontier towns like Hebron and Ziklag, doubtless served in this early time as rallying-places and cities of defence for the tribes of the Canaanites and Amorites, which through them were able to preserve their autonomy for many succeeding centuries. Most flourishing of all, according to Gen. xiii., xiv., xviii., and xix., were the cities of the lower Jordan valley (or the Ghōr), whose luxurious prosperity was checked by a volcanic upheaval and reverted to hopeless desolation.

§ 140. But the Canaanites who first became more than locally prominent were those that passed over the ridges and ravines and moved upward past the plain of Jezreel along the coast-land, until they reached the district which we know as Phœnicia. Here the chances of the sea made them first fishermen, then coasting traders, and then inventive manufacturers. For the products of their industry they found an ever-widening market, so that by the trade which they monopolized they reached a degree of prosperity and enrichment which their cattle-raising and spice-growing brethren could never hope to emulate. Many ages before the time of which we speak they had ventured out from the coast, had colonized Cyprus, and ransacked the whole Eastern Mediterranean for merchantable commodities and materials for the useful arts. The main importance of Phœnicia, however, for the world's history (§ 66), like that of Palestine, was as yet unattained. Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon were now yielding tribute of noble firs and cedars to the merchants and ship-builders of Sidon and the monarchs and nobles of Babylonia. The long stretch of territory between Lebanon and the Euphrates was as yet

uncontrolled by civilized Hettites or Aramæans; but already the trading-posts along the main route of travel and traffic to the all-absorbing East were developing into cities, chief of which were Damascus, Hamath, and Carchemish.

§ 141. It may not be inappropriate at this point to trace in a general way the highways of international communication, as they were traversed not merely in the times we are considering, but for many long years after. The reader may also find it useful to bear them in mind as serving to indicate the routes of armies, ambassadors, couriers, and travellers. There were two great lines of traffic towards the East, which, however, were united during a great part of the whole course. In southwestern Palestine, the traders returning from Egypt and those who came from Western and Southern Arabia took the coast-road of the Philistian plain, and crossing the country through the valley of Jezreel, where Megiddo was very early an important station, they passed over Jordan to Gilead, where the trade of Eastern Palestine was centred. Thence the road led to Damascus, the greatest emporium west of the Euphrates for all manufactures and agricultural products, just half-way between that boundary stream and Northern Egypt. Here the road led due north to Hamath on the Orontes. At Hamath it was joined by the other, a much shorter but very important route, which specially served the interest of Phœnicia, above all of Tyre, whose supremacy among its sister seaports must largely be ascribed to its command of this avenue of traffic from its very beginning at the sea. Following the Leontes upwards, this road traversed the fertile valley of Cœlo-Syria; then it skirted the Orontes in its downward course, till at Hamath it was merged in the great inter-continental highway. When we consider the enormous timber trade of Lebanon, both with the East and with the West, it is natural to suppose that the Leontes carried down much of this material that was in requisition at Tyre, and that the Orontes conveyed as far as its northwestern bend at Hamath

the costly woods that were destined for the architects and cabinet-makers of Babylonia and Assyria. From Hamath the main caravan route was followed through Aleppo and Arpad to Carchemish, on the western bank of the Euphrates. Crossing the River, a course nearly due east was taken. The principal stop in this main section was made at the "Great Road" city,[1] as the Babylonians called it, Charran, the central meeting-place of cattle-dealers, spice-traders, jewellers, merchants, and negotiators of all sorts, and of all tongues and nationalities, from north, south, east, and west, and the shrine of countless religious pilgrims. Further eastward still, the important city of Nisibis was passed; and when Nineveh was reached the route was practically ended, as far as Assyrian trade with the West was concerned. But the commerce of Babylonia, which was plied long before and after the rise and fall of Nineveh, claimed its great avenues of communication, and of these the Euphrates route was, at least in early times, the most important if not the one exclusively employed. Later also, in the times of Assyrian supremacy, it had to be followed in any case, on account of the rivalry of the Ninevites on the northeast. It should be added that the road from Damascus through Tadmor to the Euphrates, was in these early times as yet undeveloped (cf. 1 K. ix. 18; 2 Chr. viii. 4), and that at no time did it attain to the importance of the main route over Carchemish.

§ 142. For the next period, which reaches to the Hettite occupation of Syria (fourteenth century), we have much fuller and, in some instances, quite novel and surprising sources of information (§ 151 ff.). During the centuries thus embraced, Palestine underwent a gradual but very substantial development. The cities and fortresses, the conditions of whose establishments have been noted above (§ 139 f.), became, in accordance with the genius of the

[1] The ideogram for Charran (*ḫarrānu*, חָרָן, Χαρραν) is the same as that which signifies "highway." For the region see § 75.

people (§ 37), the centres of a large number of independent principalities, disinclined to and usually incapable of confederation, and offering a tempting and easy prey to the stronger united monarchies of the East and West. The religion and ordinary elements of culture of these communities were naturally Canaanitic; but their higher intellectual development was throughout the whole period distinctively and perhaps exclusively due to Babylonia. The foundations of Babylonian influence and culture must have been laid deep and strong during the dynasties of native princes, and a close communication, both commercial and diplomatic, must have been maintained during the earlier years of the Kasshite régime (§ 121 ff.). Otherwise the prevalence of Babylonian language and writing in the fifteenth century (§ 154) would be entirely inexplicable. Yet it is equally certain that, at least from the sixteenth century onwards, the power of Babylonia in the West was steadily waning, and since the petty states of Palestine were without cohesion or collective strength they fell into the hands of Egypt, which now for a time assumed the place of predominance once occupied by the empire of the Euphrates.

§ 143. The rule of the Shepherd Princes in Egypt was brought to an end early in the sixteenth century, after a prolonged struggle with the reviving monarchy of Thebes. The rejuvenation of the empire, due to the revival of the national spirit which followed the abolition of the foreign régime, was marked most distinctively by a new attitude towards the states of Western Asia. Formerly Egypt had been the sufferer from Asiatic aggressors; henceforth it became her policy to claim an interest in Palestine and Syria, and to assert the claim by armed invasion whenever her resources seemed to justify the effort. This change of sentiment and aim was no doubt partly due to a reawakened lust of conquest and power, the reaction from the pressure of a foreign yoke. But the rulers of the Nile Valley had deeper motives and a further-

reaching purpose than the impulses of mere self-assertion. They not only dreaded a repetition of incursions on the part of the wild nomads who had almost robbed Egypt of her nationality and religion; but they knew also that behind these Semitic barbarians there was an empire with a civilization equal to their own in antiquity and virility, with a political system more manageable and coherent, by virtue of which Babylonia had already brought the fairest portions of Asia under control, and they felt that the possession of Palestine and Syria would not merely secure them against the return of the "Shepherds," but serve them also as the very best possible vantage-ground for offensive or defensive warfare against their inevitable and permanent rivals. They thus made it their constant aim to push their frontier as far eastward as possible, and to convert the strongholds of their uncertain and dangerous neighbours into fortresses for their own protection. The control or chief profit of the trade of Phœnicia and Syria was, of course, also included in their plans.

§ 144. Egypt was delivered from the tyranny of the Hyksos by Aahmes I, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1580 B.C.). After driving the Asiatic allies of the usurping immigrants over the Isthmus, the advantage was followed up by a formal invasion of Palestine. Sharuhen, mentioned in Josh. xix. 6 as among the frontier towns of Southwest Canaan, and at this earlier date one of the principal fortresses of Palestine, submitted to the Egyptians, who proceeded thence to an attack upon Phœnicia, where they apparently met with little substantial resistance. This inroad, however, did not result at once in permanent occupation. It rather prepared the way for a subsequent course of conquest and annexation. "This Asiatic campaign had shown the Egyptians the way into Asia. The wars had also trained generals and armies, and Aahmes' successors saw to it that neither deteriorated. A new spirit had come over the once peaceful people, and army after army set out on warlike expeditions. Amon

and Mentu, the great gods of Thebes, became war-gods, in whose names the kings fought their wars; and into the temple of Amon poured the lion's share of the booty won in war and the tribute wrung from conquered nations. The entire character of the wars, too, was changed by the introduction of the horse from Asia. The home of the horse was most probably the Turanian steppe. It was introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. Horses were not used at this time as beasts of burden, but only in war and on the chase. They were not used in riding, but only to draw the two-wheeled chariots. These chariots were imported into Egypt from Syria, where chariot-building was a flourishing industry.[1] The very word for chariot — *merkabet* — is of Semitic origin. This new arm entirely changed the character and dimensions of battles. Moreover, chariots and horses were expensive, and the charioteer required special training. These two circumstances favoured the formation of standing armies and increased the advantage the greater states had over their smaller neighbours. These facts will account for the successes the Egyptians won over the Syrian states in the ensuing campaigns."[2]

§ 145. The second king after Aahmes, Thothmes I, led a regular expedition through Palestine and Syria. The objective point of his march was Mesopotamia, the meeting-place of all the great routes of traffic (§ 141). In his successful progress as an invader of these regions he crossed the Euphrates, and as being the first of the Pharaohs to accomplish this feat, he erected a commemorative tablet east of the River, which at the same time was to indicate the extent of the Egyptian dominions. These incursions, brilliant as was their success, were, however, little more than forays, with plunder as their chief aim and result. Tribute was, of course, imposed upon the conquered peoples, but as no army of occupation was left to

[1] Cf. Josh. xi. 4 for Northern Palestine.

[2] Wendel, *History of Egypt* (History Primers), p. 67.

secure the fruits of the conquest, the compulsory loyalty of the new Egyptian subjects vanished with the disappearance of the invaders. The daughter and second successor of Thothmes I, an enterprising and ambitious queen named Mā-ka-Rā, signalized her reign chiefly by a large maritime commercial expedition to Southern Arabia, which returned with an immense freight of the products of "Punt," or Sheba, chief among which were spices, incense, gold, ivory, and curious animals. She does not seem to have interfered by force in the affairs of Asia. Her half-brother and successor, Thothmes III (c. 1520), who enjoyed a long reign, was the greatest of Egyptian conquerors. He was the first who really made determined and systematic efforts for the subjugation of Syria. The sense of danger awakened by experience of the new Egyptian policy had already led to an alliance of the various communities south of Hamath, at the head of which was apparently the king of Kadesh on the Orontes, and when Thothmes appeared in Northern Palestine their combined forces confronted him at Megiddo. Here was fought the first on record of those countless battles which have made famous that meeting-place of armies, and through which it came to be so appropriately typical of the horrors and desolations of war (Rev. xvi. 16). The invaders were victorious, and the whole of Syria and Palestine acknowledged the Egyptian rule. What is specially noteworthy is the further fact that the king of Assyria (§ 173) sent to the conqueror valuable propitiatory gifts, he, of course, as well as the princes of Babylonia, being now completely ruled out of the West-land. The rest of the fifteen Asiatic campaigns of the same monarch had most frequently for their object the putting down of insurrections. This task was the order of the day during the whole of the régime of the Pharaohs in Asia, on account of their lack of organizing faculty in the government of conquered lands, and also because the subject states (or rather cities, with their surrounding districts, § 38) were so heterogeneous and

scattered. Thothmes, however, succeeded also in extending his possessions materially, not only gaining Carchemish, the Hettite capital, but a long strip of country besides in Naharain, or Mesopotamia, up and down the Euphrates. Perhaps more important and more profitable acquisition was made in securing the control of the Phœnician coastland, its thriving seaport towns, including Arvad, Byblos, and Tyre, and its colonies in Cyprus. All of these yielded substantial addition to the royal treasuries and the priestly endowments. The wealth of the state, augmented besides by costly wares and precious metals from Nubia and South Arabia, thus became great beyond example. Not the least important of the acquisitions of Thothmes III in Syria was the daughter of the king of the Rutenu, who became one of his queens. This simple and obvious method of cementing alliances seems to have been the highest achievement of Egyptian diplomacy in Asia. It became the favourite practice of his successors, and formed the subject of frequent and often prolonged negotiations (cf. § 149 f.). Of little permanent consequence were the attempts made to establish the worship of Egyptian deities in various parts of the country, although at Tunip, a region in the neighbourhood of Damascus, the cult of Amen seems to have been kept up for a generation or more. The two immediate successors of this enterprising monarch succeeded, by dint of frequent expeditions and harsh treatment of rebels, in keeping the conquered territory in tolerable subjection. Their reigns were short, lasting together not more than twenty years, and with the accession of the next in order, Amenophis III (c. 1450), we come to the turning-point in the history of Egyptian influence in Asia.

§ 146. In the introduction to this work (§ 11) occasion was taken to remark that the annals of the Semitic historiographers give us only a very general and inadequate picture of the real history and complexion of the times and events which they commemorate. The observation may

be made still more emphatically of the Egyptian court documents, which by courtesy are called historical. For example, the adventures of all the Pharaohs in Asia are recorded in the same stereotyped fashion, each of their expeditions being represented as a sort of triumphal procession, the invincible monarch doing everything in a large, irresistible, heroic fashion that precludes the variety and detail of circumstantial action, which give life and interest to all real historical narration. The quelling of stubborn insurrections, a drawn or more than doubtful battle, a foray for plunder or provision among defenceless villages, or a hunting excursion in the North Syrian forests, are all duly recorded and vaunted as glorious triumphs and conquests. As a matter of fact, the hold of Egypt upon Asia, which was never very sure, was steadily relaxing after the time of the great Thothmes III, though one would never have learned this from the records of the kings, which are, to be sure, quite meagre, and yet have nothing to report but unbroken success. We know how valuable for the purposes of historical research in any age are even a few specimens of contemporary correspondence. Such a desideratum has been supplied in the most satisfactory manner by the now famous collection of letters written upon the so-called Tell el Amarna tablets. These letters are worthy of the serious attention of all students of history, because they introduce us at once to the affairs of the most important peoples of the second millennium before the Christian era, and light up for us as by a single electric flash the obscurity which has hitherto enveloped the century in which they were composed.

§ 147. As far as Egypt alone is concerned, it is the reigns of Amenophis III and his son and successor, Amenophis IV, that are illustrated by the discovery. The latter (c. 1415 B.C.) was, in religious matters at least, the most remarkable of all the Egyptian kings, in that he formally cast off the prevailing worship of Amen, the supreme deity of the whole Theban régime, and undertook

to revolutionize the faith of the empire by exalting to exclusive honour Aten, the god of the sun-disk. In other words, he aimed to establish solar monotheism as the national religion. For this purpose he changed his name, the first portion of which was the name of the discarded deity, to Chu-en-Aten, "the lustre of the solar disk." Further, and what was of more importance, he removed the royal residence from Thebes, the capital of his dynasty, the sacred city of Amen, to a site almost exactly half-way between it and the ancient capital Memphis. Hither he brought the royal treasures and archives, and here he began the erection of a new and magnificent temple, which should be the centre and shrine of the new worship. Hand in hand with his efforts to advance the exclusive claims and prerogatives of the Sun-god, went on the suppression of the traditional faith and its observances, the destruction or defacement of the temples and monuments which were their outward symbols and embodiments, and the obliteration of the inscriptions and sacred books which served for their authentication and regulation. There is no reason to doubt that the motives of the reforming king were pure and his views enlightened and profound, though we have no knowledge of the details of his belief or his work. His attempt was a splendid failure. He had not even time to bring to completion outward measures for the establishment and propagation of his monotheistic conceptions. His reign of about twelve years and his life were probably brought to an end by a revolt against his too thoroughgoing and uncompromising propagandism, and as he left no son to vindicate his cause and to adjust the disturbed affairs of the empire, a period of anarchy was the inevitable and melancholy sequel of his death.

§ 148. What further interests us in connection with the ill-fated reformer, the "heretic" king Chu-en-Aten, has to do with the city which he made his brief capital.[1] Its

[1] An interesting sketch of Tell el Amarna by Mr. W. S. Boscawen, may be found in the *Independent*, July 27, 1893.

ruins lie near the modern village of Tell el Amarna, on the right bank of the Nile, in north latitude about $27\frac{1}{2}°$. In the year 1888 there were found among them by a peasant woman, who was seeking antiquities for purposes of sale, a number of tablets written in cuneiform characters. Continued search led to the unearthing of nearly 320 documents complete or fragmentary. Of these about two-thirds found their way to the Royal Museum at Berlin and to the British Museum, while the greater part of the remainder were retained in the Museum at Bulak in Egypt. The mere fact of the existence of cuneiform documents in Middle Egypt was a notable surprise; but this was greatly augmented when it appeared upon examination that they consisted of letters, mostly written in the Babylonian language in the fifteenth century B.C., from rulers or officials of several Asiatic countries to King Amenophis III and his successor, Amenophis IV, or Chu-en-Aten, and persons connected with their courts. Those belonging to the reign of the former king had been, of course, brought from Thebes to the new religious capital in the general deportation above alluded to. The contents of the documents show them to have consisted of diplomatic messages, business and friendly communications, and reports as to the affairs of subject states. They proceed from Babylonia, then under the Kasshite régime (§ 123); from Assyria, then beginning to cherish extensive political designs (§ 173); from Mesopotamia, then partly under a non-Semitic government; and from Egyptian prefects or deputies in the dependent districts of Syria and Palestine. Naturally, the last-named collection will have for us the deepest interest, but the significance of each of the other groups should also be briefly indicated, and then it will be in place to draw one or two general conclusions.[1]

[1] Much has already been done, and that by competent men, for the publication and interpretation of these difficult inscriptions. The two chief collections have already been published in careful editions of the texts, that of the Berlin Museum by Winckler and Abel (see ZA. VI,

§ 149. The correspondence between Egypt and Babylonia is more valuable for what it suggests than for what it directly discloses. It consists of eleven letters: one from Amenophis III to Kallīma-Sin, king of Babylonia; three from the latter to the former; seven from Burraburiash, king of Babylonia (c. 1440–1405, cf. § 175) to Amenophis IV of Egypt. The principal subjects discussed are intermarriages between the one court and the other. Amenophis III, who had already married the sister of the Babylonian king, is anxious also to secure his daughter. Her father, however, hesitates diplomatically, on the ground that he has not been able to find out how his sister has been treated since she allied herself to the Egyptian royal house. There is a great deal of discussion upon this delicate point, but after a time the Babylonian tells the Egyptian that his daughter being now old enough to marry, she is at his disposal. There had been several intermarriages on both sides involving, as we may infer from this specimen, a vast amount of negotiation. The

141; VII, 121 ff.), *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, Berlin, 1890; that of the British Museum by Bezold, with Introduction by Bezold and Budge (the original purchaser of the tablets), London, 1892. In *Oriental Diplomacy*, London, 1893, Bezold gives a transcription of the texts, with vocabulary and notes. The Berlin edition contains also copies of inscriptions in the Museum at Bulak, so that the whole find is now virtually before the public in a reliable form. Portions of the texts have already been translated and explained, notably in the masterly articles by Zimmern, Briefe aus dem Funde in El-Amarna, and, Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem, ZA. V, 137–165; VI, 245–263. See also Budge in PSBA. X, 540–569, and Sayce, *ibid.* X, 488–525; XI, 326–413, the last-named essay dealing with the Bulak tablets. Of the numerous more or less popular articles, special attention may be called to Zimmern's inaugural dissertation at Halle, Palästina um das Jahr 1400 v. Chr. nach neuen Quellen (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XIII, 133–147), of which an abstract was furnished in the *Independent*, July 16, 1891, and the *Magazine of Christian Literature*, February, 1892; Lehmann, Aus dem Funde von Tell el Amarna, ZA. III, 372–406 (comprehensive and suggestive); and for Egypt and Syria a brilliant résumé by Sayce in *Sunday School Times*, Jan. 23, 1892. A complete bibliography up to date appeared in the Introduction to the British Museum texts mentioned above.

leading motive both of the proposals and the delays was, of course, on both sides, the desire to secure as large a dowry as possible and other accompanying gifts, since presents, sometimes up to a specified amount, are openly demanded. But larger affairs of state than these really depended on the success of the negotiations. Aside from the main consideration that the two empires at the limits of the civilized world should be on a footing of amity, and so preserve international peace generally, incidental advantages were gained, such as treaties of commerce and conventions as to customs, duties, and other levies made upon merchants of the one country trading in the other. The letters of Burraburiash, while also looking well after the main chance, give incidental information of value. For example, in one of them the Babylonian king reminds the Egyptian that his father, Kurigalzu, had refused to join in an invasion of Egypt planned by certain Palestinian marauders, on the ground of the league between them, and had even notified the disturbers [1] that he would make war on any king who would join them in attacking the king of Egypt, "his brother." Thus we see that an offensive alliance between these widely separated nations was at least a matter of profession.

§ 150. Letters from two kings of Assyria, also to Amenophis IV (cf. § 175), reveal the strenuous efforts made by the rising rival of Babylonia to secure the favour of Egypt with gifts, and the establishing of confidential relations generally. Of special interest to us are also the letters that come from the region of Western Mesopotamia, inasmuch as they set before us most fully the social relations of the monarchs of the time, and furnish much incidental information as to matters of trade and politics. The name of the country thus associated with Egypt was Mītāni, a region apparently comprising most of Naharain (§ 75) and the southern portion of Cappadocia or Kom-

[1] Br. M. collection, Nr. 2; see Introd., p. xxx f.

magene.[1] The people of this country, or at least its governing class, appear not to have been of Semitic stock, since one of the El Amarna letters from this source is written in a non-Semitic language.[2] Yet, like the rest of the Western Asiatics, they availed themselves usually of the well-known language of general intercourse, the world-compelling Babylonian. The political significance of the communications between this region and Egypt will be apparent when it is remembered that Thothmes III (§ 145) had not only pushed his conquest to the Euphrates, but had acquired a strip of territory on its eastern bank. The kings of Mītāni who reigned after his time were strong enough to secure the whole of the eastern side of the River, and to the less powerful successors of the great conqueror it seemed the best policy to cultivate their friendship, as a protection for their own precarious possessions in Syria, and as a general barrier to movements unfriendly to Egypt on the part of any of the neighbours of the centrally situated Mesopotamian monarchy. The importance of these political relations had already been vaguely known to Egyptologists. Thi, the beautiful and beloved queen or chief wife of Amenophis IV, appears from her physiognomy and complexion as exhibited in her mummy, to have been a native of Northeastern Syria, and a scarab inscription tells that another consort came to him from Naharain, the daughter of King Satarna, with 317 ladies in her train. Now Dushratta, the author of the letters in this group, correspondent of Amenophis III, was the brother of the latter Mesopotamian princess, and we learn from him that not only his sister, but his daughter also, changed her nationality and her

[1] See particularly Lehmann in ZA. III, 377; Jensen, *ibid.* VI, 57 ff., 342 ff.; Introd. to Br. M. collection, p. xxxvii; Winckler, *Orientalische Forschungen*, p. 86 f.

[2] Attempts to read and interpret the language in question have been made, notably by Sayce, Brünnow, and Jensen. See articles by all three in ZA. V, 166–274, and one by Jensen, *ibid.* VI, 34–72.

faith in the cause of matrimonial diplomacy. The profuseness of verbiage, the effusiveness of compliment, and the skill in suggesting "better terms," which are the most marked characteristics of the venerable documents that relate to these and other matters of grave common concern, entitle them to no insignificant place among the extant state papers of the ancient world.[1]

§ 151. The next series of letters, the most numerous and interesting of the groups, brings us more directly in contact with the events of the time. I mean the documents containing messages to the Egyptian suzerain, from his viceroys and captains in Syria and Palestine. The letters already dealt with may be regarded, from our point of view, as preparatory to them. Those indicated the importance of Asiatic alliances to the rulers of the Nile; these show in detail how the Egyptian interests there were declining in spite of diplomacy and the prestige of former conquests. They belong almost entirely to the time of Amenophis IV. In his reign the hold of the Pharaohs upon Asia, which had been relaxed under the compromising policy of his predecessor, became loosened and in great part shaken off. The exclusive devotion to his religious reforms, which made the reign of the heretic king politically unsuccessful at home, led to disaster and humiliation abroad. Garrisons and outposts were neglected, and their commanders left without reinforcements or supplies. Rival nationalities, and even marauding tribes and clans, were permitted to plot against and invade the provinces and besiege their cities without serious opposition; and the obliteration of both the name and the substance of Egyptian authority in Asia was only delayed because the disturbing forces, though numerous,

[1] It should be added, as a very significant fact, that the language of these letters, though not the vernacular of either of the correspondents, is a pure and copious Babylonian. The Mītāni tablets are distinguished from the others externally, by being made of the dark red clay which is met with in the north of Syria and the adjacent region.

were individually weak, and for a time quite insignificant.

§ 152. The localities from which these letters are dated are, in most instances, familiar to classical and Biblical students; and the reader finds it at first difficult to realize that the events and interests are those of a time as remote as the fifteenth century B.C. From Egyptian sources it was already known that Gaza, Arvad, Megiddo, and a few other less-known cities, had been subdued by the Pharaohs (cf. § 145). The El Amarna collection contains official letters from Byblos (Gebal), Tyre, Beyrut, Accho, Hazor, Gezer, Askalon, and Jerusalem, while other familiar names, such as Sidon, Joppa, and Lachish, are referred to in the same documents. For detailed information as to their contents, I must refer to the special treatises already mentioned (§ 148, n.). The most interesting facts may be stated as follows. Of the strongholds of Egyptian authority, those in the north were in the greatest danger. In fact, Northern Syria may be regarded as lost to Egypt. Byblos, Tyre, and Beyrut are being held with difficulty by the governors who, in profession at least, are loyal, at great cost and in spite of great difficulties. The troubles come from three separate sources. From without, the Hettites are pressing southwards from their vantage-grounds lately secured in Northern Syria. Next, in their interest an obscure foe of Canaanitish race, under the leadership of a certain rebellious plotter, Abdashera[1] (*Abdi-Aširti*), is gradually seizing the outlying towns. Finally, there is dissension and rivalry among the Egyptian governors themselves, and they accuse one another to the king of disloyalty, each crediting his colleagues with the blame of the loss of cities and the lowering of the standard of the Pharaohs. The burden of the letters is the need of succour

[1] The occurrence of the name in this combination, "Servant of Ashera," has been rightly claimed as evidence, by Sayce and others, that the much-disputed אשרה was really a Canaanitish goddess. The word is, of course, also used in OT. for the symbol of the divinity (§ 321).

for the hard-pressed garrisons, with the reiterated entreaty that relief may be speedily sent. The names of the governors who appeal most frequently and insistently are worth noting: *Rib-Addi* (Hadad, *i.e.* Rimmon), viceroy of Byblos, and *Abi-milki* (=Abimelech), viceroy of Tyre. From Jerusalem came six letters,[1] full of suggestion as to the history of Southern Canaan. They are written by the native governor of Jerusalem (*Urusalim*) named *Abdi-ṭāba*, and abound with bitter complaints against the unfaithfulness of certain conspirators, his neighbours, who are handing over the whole of the country to the *Ḫabirē*, the most dangerous foe in that part of Palestine. These Chabirē are possibly the people of Hebron, one of the old Amorite cities, which was now seeking to become the centre of a new monarchy in Southern Palestine independent of the alien Egyptians. One of the letters tells of the loss of the cities of Gezer, Gath, Keilah, with others not yet fully identified, and a letter[2] from an unknown city, written by a certain *Mut-Adda* ("man or servant of Hadad" — Rimmon), tells further of the rebellion of Edom, Addar (Josh. xv. 3), and Magdiel (Gen. xxxvi. 43), and other districts hitherto unknown to us. There can be no reasonable doubt that whatever may have been the hearing accorded to these pathetic appeals,— and the preservation of the tablets shows that they were at least carefully pigeon-holed,— the strongholds of Egyptian rule in Asia still nominally retained were soon surrendered to the Hettites and to native Canaanites of one tribe or another. For the civil war in the Nile country continued after the death of the unfortunate visionary who inaugurated it, and expeditions over the Isthmus were pretermitted till the rise of a new dynasty.

§ 153. The most striking fact among the disclosures of these new-found historical treasures, and one whose significance it is not easy to estimate, is the prevalence and range of Babylonian influence in all the vast region from

[1] All in the Berlin collection ; see § 148, note.

[2] Nr. 64 in the Br. M. collection.

Upper Egypt to the Persian Gulf. A single indication may suffice. It will have been noticed, even by the casual reader of these pages, that the officials whose letters to the king of Egypt have been referred to, bear Hebrew (that is, Canaanitic) names. They write to the Pharaoh, not in his own tongue, not in their own, but in that of a far-off people whose country, by the nearest land route, was over a thousand miles away. It has been rightly supposed that there was then, and that there had been for many centuries, close communication between Palestine and Egypt, and it might fairly be expected that the Egyptian language would be acquired and used, at least in official communications between the Palestinian or Syrian vassals and their sovereign. Or "the language of Canaan" might have been learned by the Egyptians, as Hebrew Prophecy anticipated it would be learned under reversed conditions in some future age (Isa. xix. 18). The only explanation of the actual phenomenon is that the Babylonians had once, and up to a comparatively recent period, occupied the whole of the habitable territory as far as the Mediterranean and the River of Egypt; that the period of their occupation was very long and scarcely intermittent; that their influence extended to the minutest details of business and social life; and that their language and literature formed a liberal education for all the cultivated classes in Western Asia. For the foreign language could only have been used by so many persons widely removed from one another, when the teaching and learning of that language came as a matter of course from the constant associations of daily life and the indelible impressions of permanent institutions. We shall have occasion to see how little influence Egypt exercised at any later stage upon the people of Palestine, and how great was that of the Babylonian race. The present revelation, given in Babylonian language, from the very soil of Egypt itself, shows that the same relative position was held — we may boldly say it — back to the earliest recorded time. The Western expeditions and conquests

of Sargon I and Narām-Sin are no mere legend; the commercial activity of their successors of Southern Babylonia, from the forests of Northern Syria to the Sinaitic peninsula, are now seen in the light of their enduring results; the story of Gen. xiv. is no narrative of isolated events, but the fragmentary commemoration of enterprises which were for many centuries the order of the day. We are learning more clearly as each year of discovery goes by, that what the Grecians and Romans were as civilizers and conquerors to the world we still call "ancient," the Babylonians were to countries and peoples of an antiquity immeasurably more remote.

§ 154. Scarcely less interesting is the indication given in these letters of the civilization of the countries from which they came. Upon the advancement in culture of Babylonia and Egypt it is not necessary to say anything. The existence of a kingdom in Western Mesopotamia, standing on a footing of equality with Egypt, of itself speaks eloquently of the development of the most valuable territory lying between the two great empires. Its progress in art, as well as in political influence, is attested by the mention of the richly ornamented articles sent as gifts by the king of Mītāni.[1] These, and the like facts of a time antecedent to the establishment of the Hettite kingdom, furnish evidence both of the energy and progressiveness of the non-Semitic peoples north of the Mesopotamian plain, and of their participation in the culture of Babylonia. They also suggest to us how it came to pass, that from the earliest authentic times, the tribes that inhabited the mountain slopes and valleys of Armenia and Cappadocia were so advanced in the arts of peace and war. I only allude in passing to the internal organization and development of Syria and Palestine two centuries before the incoming of the Hebrews, and of the achievements of the Phœnicians on the sea and the coastlands.[2] The most

[1] *E.g.* in Letters 8 and 9 of Br. M. collection.

[2] See the letters from Tyre, *e.g.* Nr. 28 in the Br. M. collection.

suggestive fact of all is the prevalence, not simply of one language for purposes of business and diplomacy, but of one system of writing, and that used not only for the Babylonian language, but for the native languages as well. Two remarks may be obviously made upon this. The study of these difficult and complicated characters must have been well-nigh universal throughout the broad area of Babylonian influence. In every one of the numerous districts of Palestine,[1] for example, the leading men were familiar with all the niceties of the wedge-writing, while the preparation of the tablets and the delicate mechanical work of the stylus must be added to the list of the accomplishments which we may justly put to the credit of at least the "classes" among the pre-Mosaic Palestinians. It is superfluous to suggest that indefinitely large auxiliary attainments in many regions of intellectual activity are implied in this single fact. Another observation is of wider bearing. We have as yet had no indication, either from this or from any other source, that the so-called Phœnician alphabet was in use anywhere in the fifteenth century B.C. To whatever place of origin it may be finally assigned, it seems clear that it had then no large Semitic publicity. The universal employment of the cuneiform system in the North-Semitic realm, should give aid and comfort to the small group of scholars who hold to the conviction that from it, and not from the Egyptian hieroglyphics or the Central-Arabian alphabet, that system of writing was derived which has become the main working instrument of the world's civilization.[2]

[1] Evidence of this fact is beginning to come in from other sources. I allude to the well-known discovery of a contemporary cuneiform tablet found at Lachish by Mr. F. J. Bliss, of Beyrut. Lachish appears at that time to have been united in administration with Sidon. The Lachish tablet makes mention of *Zimrida* as the governor, who, in Br. M. Nr. 30, is called governor of Sidon and Lachish.

[2] For a discussion of the bearing of the forms of the cuneiform signs in the El Amarna tablets, and of other indications of the spread of Babylonian institutions, particularly the stamping of money (rings and

§ 155. The general political situation may now be sketched in broad outlines. Egypt was in the last stage of her first and most extensive sovereignty in Asia. The El Amarna tablets show plainly enough that her inability to retain her possessions was not due to lack of able and devoted officials, but to the absence of a consistent resolute policy in foreigu administration,[1] chargeable in great measure to the instability of government at home. Babylonia was now reduced from the position of the predominant to that of a co-ordinate power in the affairs of Western Asia. Her most formidable rival had for some time been Egypt, but the interference of the latter was simply made possible through the diminution of the power and prestige of Babylonia, which had been confined not only to the country east of the Euphrates, but actually to her own natural boundaries on the lower stretches of the great Rivers. Already we had learned of rivalry between the Kasshite Babylonians and a people on the Middle Euphrates (§ 123), and even of a successful incursion into Karduniash (§ 121) by the latter. This took place about a century before the date of Burraburiash and the heretic king of Egypt, and in the mean time there had arisen in the same Mesopotamian region the kingdom of Mītāni, which now stood as a solid barrier between all possible advances from Egypt on the west or from Assyria and Babylonia on the east, and occupying an important place for two centuries more. As for Assyria, her time of aggressive action was yet to come. She was now, however, alert and watchful, with an eye constantly on the roads to Mesopotamia, from which she hoped to exclude forever the mother country, that had played out her part in the affairs of the world. Before the advent of the Assyrians as arbiters and con-

bars of gold and silver), and the standard of weight for the regulation of a currency in the markets of the world, see the essay of Lehmann already alluded to (§ 148, note).

[1] For a vivid picture of the troublous vicissitudes of the small subject states of Egypt, see Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, 4 ed., p. 192 f.

querors another period of Asiatic history was to intervene, in which the leading rôle was to be acted by a people whose activity in Syria and Palestine has already been indicated, whose large participation in the affairs of the West-land is ominously foreshadowed in the tablets of El Amarna, and who in these inscriptions are vaguely referred to as acting with the Canaanitic insurgents.

CHAPTER III

THE HETTITES IN SYRIA

§ 156. It is possible that the Hettites have in later times secured a larger share of popular attention than their historical importance really deserves. But this is a mistake which the friends of Oriental and Biblical learning will readily overlook in view of the indirect benefits of the researches that have been made and the modicum of solid results that has been secured. Certainly the nature and unexpected range in time and place of the discoveries, and the welcome illustration they have afforded to obscure passages in the Bible and in contemporary literature, justify a large portion of the curiosity they have excited. The more important events in their history, as occupants of Syria and Palestine, we shall have to touch upon in the proper places. Much more difficult is it to give a satisfactory comprehensive account of their national and racial character, and of their early achievements as a people. While it is possible to fix approximately the time when they became one of the dominant powers of Western Asia, and the stages of their rise and decline in political influence, the somewhat less important but very fascinating questions of their origin, their general ethnical and political associations, and the character of their language, religion, and social institutions, still await their final solution. The main difficulty does not lie altogether in the lack of monumental remains; for these, it is claimed, are fairly abundant. The chief obstacle is the character of the Hettite writing, which has hitherto resisted all attempts at decipherment, and the peculiar features of the engraved

and sculptured figures of supposed representatives of the race, whose identity with similar pictorial devices spread over a wide area is plausible and yet not absolutely certain.[1]

§ 157. It is now the prevailing opinion that the Hettites known to the Bible writers and to the contemporary Egyptians and Assyrians formed part of a large confederation or group of kindred peoples extending from the shores of the Ægean through Asia Minor to the Euphrates, and from the shores of the Black Sea to Mount Lebanon. So Professor Brown, after describing the monuments which are found along the old great roads leading eastward from Smyrna and Phocæa to Cappadocia, and southeastward through the Cilician gates to Syria, and after indicating the general similarity of the figures and written characters which they bear, remarks that "at some time in the past the whole territory of Asia Minor and Northern Syria must have been under the influence of one great people or family of kindred peoples, which have thus left their traces for nearly one thousand miles."[2]

[1] Fact and speculation in vogue up to date were admirably summarized by Professor Francis Brown's article, The Hittites, *Presb. Review*, 1886, p. 277–303. Cheyne's article in the *Encycl. Brit.*, with the same heading (1881), is still worth consulting. W. Wright's popular volume, *The Empire of the Hittites* (1884, 2d ed. 1886), contains an historical summary, but is chiefly valuable for its numerous excellent plates and smaller illustrations. Of Sayce's writings on the subject, particular attention should be called to his essay in TSBA. VII, 2 (1880), Monuments of the Hittites, and his suggestive little book *The Hittites; the Story of a Forgotten Empire* (*By-paths of Bible Knowledge*, No. XII, 1888), besides the chapter on Lydia in his *Ancient Empires of the East* (1884). The most elaborate work is that of Professor J. Campbell, *The Hittites; their Inscriptions and History* (2 vols., Toronto, 1890), devoted both to the linguistic and ethnological and historical sides of the whole subject. The best repository of illustrations of the monuments is vol. iv of Perrot and Chipiez, *L'Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* (1887). Essays specially devoted to the decipherment of the language will be cited below. Full references to the subsidiary archæological and geographical literature are to be found in Professor Brown's article just referred to.

[2] *L.c.* p. 279.

Similarly Sayce,[1] with much fulness of illustration, and more definitely: "The Hittite monuments of Asia Minor . . . show that the central point of Hittite power was a square on either side of the Taurus range, which included Carchemish and Komagênê in the south, the district east of the Halys on the north, and the country of which Malatiyeh was the capital in the east. The Hittite tribes, in fact, were mountaineers from the plateau of Kappadokia, who had spread themselves out in all directions. A time came when, under the leadership of powerful princes, they marched along the two highroads of Asia Minor and established their supremacy over the coast-tribes of the far west, . . . they had carried their arms through the whole length of Asia Minor; they had set up satraps in the cities of Lydia, and had brought the civilization of the East to the barbarous tribes of the distant West." The main ground on which these wide conclusions are based is the fact that the human and other figures portrayed upon the monuments are of the same general type; they indicate a people of the same cast of features, with the same peculiar sort of attire, in the same prevailing attitudes, and engaged in similar favourite actions, such as offering sacrifice, and marching proudly to war. Besides, the inscriptions found upon many of the monuments are declared to be written in the same characters, and as the products of the same civilization, to be presumably a mark of identity of race on the part of the writers.

§ 158. As to what the racial connections of this supposed people were some of the authorities have no doubt whatever. Major C. R. Conder[2] makes them out to be a branch of the Altaic or "Turanian" race, to which everything in Asia not clearly Aryan or Semitic has been at one time or another assigned. Professor Campbell makes a wider unification; starting with "Ephron the Hittite" of Genesis, he broadens out his basis of classification until a

[1] *The Hittites*, p. 95 f.

[2] *Altaic Monuments and Hittite Inscriptions*, London, 1887; 2d ed. 1889.

vast number of races and tribes as yet unclaimed in Asia and America, are mustered upon it in orderly array. His evidence is mainly the supposed testimony of language. Professor Sayce bases his conclusions upon the forms, features, and accoutrements of the figures portrayed upon the sculptures. As we shall see, the Egyptians had much to do with the Hettites in their Asiatic wars, and, according to Sayce, their monuments represent their adversaries "with yellow skins and 'Mongoloid' features, receding foreheads, oblique eyes, and protruding upper jaws," just as their own sculptures portray them, wherever they are found throughout Asia Minor or in Northern Syria. This concurrence of testimony is summed up as follows: "They were short and thick of limb, and the front part of their faces was pushed forward in a curious and somewhat repulsive way. The forehead retreated, the cheek-bones were high, the nostrils were large, the upper lip protrusive. They had, in fact, according to the craniologists, the characteristics of a Mongoloid race. Like the Mongols, moreover, their skins were yellow and their eyes and hair were black."[1] It is certainly not opposed to this view, and is perhaps significant of the ultimate starting-point of the migrations that all their characteristic portraitures present them to us as clothed with a short tunic and shod with boots turned up at the ends. I quote again from Sayce:[2] "In place of the trailing robes of the Syrians, the national costume was a tunic which did not reach quite to the knees. It was only after their settlement in the Syrian cities that they adopted the dress of the country; the sculptured rocks of Asia Minor represent them with the same short tunic as that which distinguished the Dorians of Greece or the ancient inhabitants of Ararat. But the most characteristic portion of the Hittite garb were the shoes with upturned ends. Wherever the figure of a Hittite is portrayed, there we find this peculiar form of boot. It reappears among the hieroglyphs of the

[1] Sayce, *The Hittites*, p. 15, 101 f. [2] *Ibid.* 80 f.

inscriptions, and the Egyptian artists who adorned the walls of the Ramesseum at Thebes have placed it on the feet of the Hittite defenders of Kadesh. The boot is really a snow-shoe, admirably adapted for walking over snow, but ill-suited for the inhabitants of a level or cultivated country. . . . Equally significant is the long fingerless glove, which is one of the most frequent of Hittite hieroglyphs. The thumb alone is detached from the rest of the bag in which the fingers were enclosed. Such a glove is an eloquent witness to the wintry cold of the regions from which its wearers came, and a similar glove is still used during the winter months by the peasants of modern Kappadokia."

§ 159. For more specific information as to the monuments and their sites the writings mentioned above must be consulted. I have only to repeat that the general theory just outlined has not found acceptance with all competent investigators. Notably, Professor W. M. Ramsay, perhaps the greatest authority of the time on the geography and archæology of Asia Minor, maintains[1] that, while there is a similarity of art between the monuments of Northern Cappadocia and those of Syria, the people of the latter country, from whom the memorials proceeded, were not akin to those of the former, but that, like the Phrygians of the Troad, they fell heir to the civilization of the empire of Pteria after its decay had begun. It is evident that the question of relationship of the peoples concerned is very obscure and intricate. The longest step towards its solution would be taken by a decipherment of the written characters, which would reveal at once, provided the material is sufficiently abundant, the character of the language, or languages, they represent. The difficulty of the whole subject, as well as the divergence of views, may be illustrated by the fact that the

[1] *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, *Royal Geogr. Society's Supplementary Papers*, vol. iv, 1891.

eminent Semitist, Halévy, who has always maintained the Semitic character of the Hettite language and race, now believes that he has proved the matter by his translation of two inscriptions found at Zinjirli, at the extreme border of Northern Syria, and preserved in the Museum of Berlin;[1] while Professor Jensen of Marburg, the latest decipherer of the Hettite writing, makes out the language to be Indo-European, most nearly akin to Armenian.[2] It is to be hoped, for the benefit and reputation of Oriental science, that the attempt of Jensen may turn out to be the real solution of the problem of the Hettite language. The number of supposed answers to the enigma has been surprisingly great, considering that comparatively few busy themselves with such matters. The most notable attempts have been those of Sayce,[3] Ball,[4] Conder,[5] Campbell,[6] Peiser,[7] and that of Jensen just noted. All but the last-named have been proved to be certainly unsuccessful as to most of their contentions, while that of Jensen is now on its trial. Whatever may be the final award, it is plain that Sayce must be credited with having made the first solid beginnings, since certain of his general conclusions have been used by his successors as initiatory postulates.

§ 160. The reader will perceive from the above statement of facts that it would be premature to dogmatize upon questions so much in dispute. But a modest opinion may be expressed as to the antiquity of the Hettites in Syria. I have already called attention to the great value

[1] Session of Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Aug. 6, 1892.

[2] *Sunday School Times*, March 25 and April 1, 1893. Cf. ZA. VII, 365 f. (31 Dec. 1892).

[3] TSBA. vol. vii, 2 (1880), the *Independent*, May 18, 1882, and ch. xi in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*.

[4] PSBA. vol. ix (1887).

[5] *Altaic Monuments*, etc.

[6] *The Hittites*, etc., vol. i (1890).

[7] F. E. Peiser (Breslau), *Die hetitischen Inschriften, ein Versuch ihrer Entzifferung*, Berlin, 1892. See Jensen in ZA. VII, 357 ff., and M. Jastrow, Jr., in *Sunday School Times*, Dec. 10, 1892.

of the Babylonian nomenclature in these inquiries (§ 131, note). Now the immemorial name of Northern Syria among the Babylonians is *māt Ḫattē* (§ 133), and this name was used long before the people emerged in recorded history; *e.g.* in astrological inscriptions which were drawn up before 2000 B.C.[1] If any other people than they had possessed the country in the earliest times, the Babylonians would certainly have named it after them and not after the Hettites. Indeed, it seems probable that before either Canaanites or Aramæans appeared west of the Euphrates, the Hettites had settled throughout Syria and the Amorites in Palestine. This gives additional interest to the opinion of Ramsay (§ 159) that the Hettites of Syria were a separate people from their supposed kindred in Asia Minor. It is also not without a special allusion to the distant past that the learned Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45) says of ancient Jerusalem, "the Amorite was thy father and thy mother a Hettite." Nor should we ignore in this connection the notices of the dealings of Abraham with the descendants of Hettite settlers in Palestine in the twenty-third century B.C. (Gen. xxv.), or the other references to the same people in the patriarchal times. We must also remember that the Egyptians, in the earliest recorded expeditions into Syria (§ 145), had to do with the Hettites, though unfortunately the date of these occurrences is too late to be of decisive importance. This at least it is well to emphasize, that, as in Palestine the Amorites preceded the Canaanites, so in Syria the Hettites preceded the Aramæans. What their ultimate racial affinities were, whether, for example, the peoples whom the Hettite chiefs of Syria summoned to their aid in the fourteenth century from all parts of Asia Minor (§ 163) were bound to their allies by other ties than those of vassalage or temporary interest of one kind or another, it is impossible as yet to determine. This and other interesting questions depend for their solution, in the first place,

[1] Cf. Winckler GBA. p. 72, 155.

upon the results of palæographical and linguistic research, which we may be well assured is as yet only in the first stage of its march of discovery.

§ 161. We have henceforth to do directly only with the Hettites [1] in the narrow and best-ascertained sense. Whatever may have been their starting-place and their antecedents, it is evident that in Syria they sooner or later established an organization of their own independent of any hypothetical outside allies or conquerors. In that country they were specially favoured by a genial climate and a fine opportunity to plunder or lay toll upon wealthy neighbours. Hence their aggregation in the Orontes Valley and their more powerful and lasting concentration on the right bank of the Euphrates. They thus became, in fact, the founders of the first great state of the West-land. Their independent existence in larger or smaller communities south of the Taurus was maintained from the fifteenth to the ninth century B.C., the period of their greatest power being the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. They were thereafter partly subdued and partly absorbed by the Aramæans, and finally conquered and politically effaced by the Assyrians. Their historical importance does not consist so much in the extent or duration of their conquests as in the indirect influence of their control. Apart from their instrumentality as bearers

[1] Though we hold that there were "Hettites" outside of Syria, we must remember that this *name* is met with only as applied to them. The origin of the word is naturally uncertain, and may be due to foreigners. It is conceivable that it is based upon a feminine stem *Ḫattu* = *Ḫantu* from *Ḫānu* (§ 123). The form of the word is substantially the same in all ancient documents, graphic variations being due merely to the different modes in which the writers of the several communities indicated vowel sounds. Our modern word "Hittite" (which I have taken the liberty to modify) is the least correct of all, having been learned from the post-classical pronunciation of Hebrew words given in the Massoretic text of the Old Testament. The Χετταῖοι of the Septuagint is identical with the "*Cheta*" (*Chettā*) of the Egyptian, and this again represents accurately the *Chattē* (*Chettē*) of the cuneiform texts. Presumably, therefore, the original form was *Chettai*, as started by the Aramæans, the next neighbours.

of civilization westward over Asia Minor, their greatest service to the world was performed in keeping the Egyptians out of Palestine, while the latter were strong enough to have seized and held the Land of Promise against any other Asiatic power. Thus, if it had not been for the aggressive part played by the Hettites, the Israelitish occupation of Palestine, with all its consequences to the world, would have been, humanly speaking, impossible.

§ 162. Of the mode of colonization and conquest pursued by the Hettites in historical ages we have no definite information. From the first Mesopotamian settlers they met with no serious opposition, since the small Aramæan trading communities were incapable of systematic aggression, and the kingdom of Mītāni (§ 150) had not extended its sway westward of the River. They are first heard of under Thothmes III (§ 145), but his reports do not make it appear that at that time they were as a corporate community strongly entrenched in Syria. We have as yet no evidence to show that Kadesh on the Orontes, or the fortress of Carchemish, were then occupied by them.[1] They are merely mentioned as tribute-givers to the great conqueror. Nor in the El Amarna tablets have they a prominent place, though by the end of the fifteenth century they must have been consolidated into a formidable confederacy, since the king of Mītāni writes[2] of an invasion of his territory by them to Amenophis III, and the Egyptian prefects of the same Pharaoh complain of trouble created by incursions into the Egyptian provinces. The weakness and anarchy of the empire of the Nile during and after the régime of Amenophis IV, furnished them with their great opportunity. It is altogether probable that it was during this period that they made Kadesh, in Cœlo-Syria, which was in any case lost to the Egyptians, their southern capital, as the great strategic and commercial

[1] Indeed, it would appear that this region was regarded as being Amorite.

[2] Letter Nr. 9 in the Br. M. collection.

centre, Carchemish, had long been their northern gathering-place. The completeness of their occupation of Syria, and the undisputed authority which we soon find them enjoying, were rendered possible by their remarkable national solidarity and the reciprocal fidelity of their various communities. It is also evident that they permanently strengthened themselves by a more tolerant policy than had marked the Egyptian rulers, since they are found to have amalgamated completely with the other inhabitants of Syria. Their rule, as a whole, must be regarded as beneficial to their much-harassed subjects, and we can heartily sympathize with them in the attempts they were soon to make to keep the Egyptians from returning to the land they had vexed and despoiled. The very motives of the Egyptian invasions had been a barrier to their successful settlement in the country, co-operating thus with their characteristic lack of the colonizing and organizing faculty.

§ 163. We come now to the next period in the history of the West-land, that of the predominance of the Hettites. Here, our chief dependence for information is the Egyptian monuments, which are especially full in telling of the deeds of arms wrought by the several Pharaohs. The longest accounts, however, are only poetical embellishments of the most creditable of the actual facts, and for these facts we must look rather to acknowledged results than to the exaggerations and inventions of the official panegyrists. The successors of Amenophis IV, being involved in the strife that followed his futile attempt to reform the religion and to free the social and political life of his people from the tyranny of the priesthood, were compelled to relax their grasp upon their foreign possessions, and to content themselves with the Nile country alone. Thus the Isthmus of Suez became, as of old, the eastern boundary of Egypt. Meanwhile, the Hettites were establishing themselves as rulers of Syria, and maintaining and extending their settlements throughout Asia Minor. Thus, when the Nineteenth Dynasty had become

firmly established, and its princes began to think seriously of regaining the old Asiatic subject lands, they found a very different sort of enemy from that to which their predecessors had been accustomed up to a century before. The business was now not to overrun the village communities and cities in detail, but to cope with a well-compacted state, whose hardy troops had been trained to act in concert, and which could summon to its aid confederates from far and near, accustomed to make common cause against any enemy of the Hettite race. The conflict began after the new dynasty had made a treaty with Sapalel, king of the Hettites, and this friendly agreement was broken by the third king, Seti I (c. 1355), who undertook a systematic reduction of all the inhabitants of Western Asia. His career in North Arabia and Southern Palestine was one of unbroken success, but it is easy to read between the lines of the Egyptian reports that when it came to an invasion of the northern territory the campaigns were indecisive, and the ambitious aggressor was obliged to content himself with the possession guaranteed by treaty of a few fortresses in advantageous positions, such as Gaza and Megiddo, the latter probably marking the limits of Hettite control. Seti's son and successor, the celebrated Ramses II, the Sesostris of the Greeks, the most famous though by no means the greatest ruler of ancient Egypt, waged, during many years of his long reign (c. 1330–1260), persistent war with the Hettite confederacy. I shall not give the details of these campaigns according to the one-sided and often absurd descriptions that come from Egyptian sources. These have been published elsewhere for English readers.[1] It is sufficient here to note the following well-ascertained facts. The early campaigns, undertaken shortly after the accession of the king, did not extend beyond the bounds of Palestine

[1] RP. II, 61 ff. Cf. Wright, p. 105 ff., 22 ff.; Sayce, *The Hittites*, p. 24 ff.

and Phœnicia. The Hettites, a more steady and reliable sort of people than their contemporaries, did not oppose the advance of Ramses, thus abiding faithfully by the treaty concluded with Seti. But in the fourth year of Ramses a new Hettite prince, *Ḫetta-sar* (*i.e.* "king of the Hettite"), came to the throne and determined to put a stop to his ambitious designs. A great battle was fought near the Hettite capital, Kadesh, in which the prowess of Ramses is said to have saved the day for the Egyptians. In spite of all the literary and monumental celebration of this event, it seems to have been indecisive. The war went on for sixteen years longer, and as it is only once that we find Ramses to have gone far north into the Hettite realm, the presumption is that he was held pretty well in check in Syria. In Palestine, however, he seems to have more than held his own in spite of numerous revolts, and the famous treaty of peace concluded with the Hettites in his twenty-first year did not disturb him in its possession. This compact was really a memorable affair on account of its solemn and sincere engagements, not only of peace and amity, but also of alliance for mutual defence, with stipulations for the extradition of criminals and fugitives from justice.

§ 164. The results of these protracted conflicts were, on the whole, beneficial to Palestine and Syria. The remaining forty-five years of the reign of Ramses II were undisturbed by strife. He and the Hettite rulers were joint guarantees and guardians of peace, and the small intermediate communities doubtless learned also to live and let live. That during this period trade and commerce, manufacture and art, flourished in the West-land, as they certainly did in Egypt, must be taken for granted. Doubtless, to this rare time of peace and prosperity a great expansion of the Canaanitic cities is to be assigned. Many influences of Egyptian civilization must have been transferred to the whole of Western Asia, and we have, on the other hand, abundant evidence of the influx of

immigrants and travellers from over the Isthmus, in the Semitization of the Egyptian language and the favour shown to the protecting deities of the Semites. During this period of tranquillity the Egyptians asserted at least a nominal suzerainty over Palestine, but it is difficult to believe that their actual administration extended beyond the cities of the Philistian coast, which they still regarded as frontier fortresses. The Hettites, meanwhile, consolidated their power in Syria and northeastward to beyond the Euphrates, and no Egyptian troops were seen to the north of Lebanon for over seven hundred years.

§ 165. But events fraught with far more importance to the world than the strife or alliances of the greatest rulers of the time were transpiring in Egypt, among the descendants of a little Hebrew colony that had been admitted with other Semites to the fertile pasture-lands of the northeast border,— events which were to prepare the way for the reoccupation of the home-land of Palestine, with all its momentous consequences in the history of our race (Hos. xiv. 1). It was the custom of the Pharaohs in carrying out their great architectural enterprises and public works, to press into their service captives taken in war, immigrants, and refugees; and, in the later years of the reign of Ramses II this old-time prescription was enforced with special urgency on account of the vast number of his undertakings. The Hebrews, who among the Semitic settlers had formerly been treated with peculiar consideration, were now made by the "king who knew not Joseph" to share the common lot. At the same time, his jealousy of the strangers of the same race from Syria, Palestine, and Arabia, whose growing numbers and wealth seemed likely to furnish the conditions for a new invasion by the "Shepherds," led Ramses to enact special measures for their reduction. The most rigorous and oppressive of these were enforced against the Hebrews as the most intelligent and thrifty, and presumably the most danger-

ous, of the race. This hard bondage endured for many years.

§ 166. Now, however, new actors appeared on the stage, who materially changed the state of affairs both for Egypt and Syria. The power and splendour of Egypt passed away with the death of Ramses the Great, and soon afterwards, in the fifth year of his successor, Merneptah (c. 1260), Egypt was invaded by a host of strangers from the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. These peoples, whom it is not easy to identify with any historic nationalities, had been attracted by the wealth of the Phœnician cities whose colonies were planted among them. Their depredations were, accordingly, first carried on in Syria and Palestine, where they gave a fatal shock to the influence of the Hettites, and began a series of devastating attacks on the flourishing communities of the Canaanites, which probably contributed more than anything else to the anarchy that afterwards rendered that people unable to make successful combined opposition to the invading Israelites. Their first fierce attack upon Egypt was repulsed, and the empire of the Nile thus relieved from what seemed impending destruction. Then followed a period of confusion and internal strife in Egypt, during which all foreigners were treated with suspicion as being possible intriguers, and the hard lot of the Hebrews was by no means lightened. The suspicion was not always ill-founded, for among the rival pretenders to the throne a Syrian resident named Arsu succeeded in his designs, and actually reigned for a time in the seat of the Pharaohs. Finally, about half a century after the death of Ramses II, a stable government was once more inaugurated by Ramses III, the joint founder with his father of the Twentieth Dynasty. The most important event which occurred in Egypt in his reign of over thirty years (c. 1210–1180) was a repetition on a larger scale of an invasion from the Grecian lands and the coasts of Asia Minor. Outside of Egypt this movement was most

strongly felt. An enormous migration of various tribes, moving both by land and sea, had made its way over the whole of Syria, breaking up the Hettite empire so effectually that it is not mentioned at all in the Hebrew accounts of the conquest of Canaan. The change wrought by them in this whole region must have been of fateful importance. The old condition of things, as before the Hettite occupation, was, at least in this respect, resumed, that the country was virtually left to be taken by the first best invader. Palestine and Phœnicia were so plundered and crippled that when Ramses, after his repulse of the invaders, sought to re-establish his authority there, he met with no opposition. His occupation, however, was but brief. The northern and western invaders, who permanently settled in Palestine, doubtless in most cases gradually merged themselves in the native population. An important exception, for a time at least, must be noted in the case of the Philistines,[1] if we are right in assuming them to have been a deposit of this flood-tide from the Mediterranean (see § 192).

§ 167. It is towards the end of the reign of Ramses III that the Exodus is with most probability to be placed. It is usually assigned to the time of Merneptah, the successor of Ramses II. This must, however, be too early, since the Egyptian influence in Palestine lasted many years after his day, and it had, like the Hettite domination of Syria, entirely vanished at the time of the Israelitish conquest. Not only so, but the whole Israelitish preliminary movement would have been impossible till the time when Egypt had relinquished its claim to Palestine, and had also ceased to control the Shasu of the Peninsula,

[1] See Meyer, GA. § 266, and Dillmann on Gen. x. 14. Caphtor (cf. Deut. ii. 23; 1 Chr. i. 12; Am. ix. 7; Jer. xlvii. 4) is usually held to be a name of Crete. The meaning may be "Greater Phœnicia" (indicating a colony) in the Egyptian language, whence Ebers thinks of Phœnician colonists on the coast of the Delta; see Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 136. But the language of Jeremiah does not favour this.

among whom the wanderings of the Hebrews took place. Such a state of things did not exist until after the death of Ramses III and until the time of his feeble successors, who recalled by their name of Ramses alone the memory of the days when Egypt was an Asiatic power. The fortunes of Egypt will now cease to have direct interest for us for some hundreds of years, since it no longer influenced the destiny of Palestine.

Book IV

ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS

CHAPTER I

ASSYRIA TILL THE ERA OF PREDOMINANCE

§ 168. A GENERAL description of the geography of Assyria and its historical boundaries has already been given (§ 74). Before proceeding with our rapid survey of Assyrian history, a word or two about the character of the people will be in place. As compared with Babylonia, some striking general differences are to be noted. The most remarkable of these is perhaps the fact that the Assyrians seem to have been of a much purer race in historical times than the dwellers on the Lower Euphrates. There is no change in the type of face shown in the numerous sculptured monuments of Nineveh, and they all appear to have the aspect of an unmixed Semitic people. Of a commingling of races, or at least of the introduction of foreign elements into the native Semitic, we find in Assyria, as contrasted with Babylonia, no apparent trace. Moreover, there is a singular unity in the history of Assyria. Composed as it was, during most of its time, practically of one enormous city, there is no serious interruption in the exercise of its peculiar genius or the development of its national character. As compared with communities not Oriental, its existence was long, but in comparison with the Babylonian monarchies its history

was brief, extending, as an independent empire, over less than a thousand years, as against the three thousand and more that measure the duration of the southern kingdoms. It was also compact and uniform. No foreign conqueror ever sat on the throne, while the foreign Elamite and Kasshite dynasties in Babylonia endured for centuries. Its predominant characteristics as a race and community lie on the surface, and are suggested even by a cursory survey of its monuments alone. The outstanding attributes of the Assyrian were energy and the love of power, and these characteristics were so marked that all other qualities were dwarfed in comparison. Naturally, they took the form of militarism, as in other ancient countries; but in the case of Assyria it led to a one-sidedness so complete that hardly anything else than war and conquest, with concomitant and kindred pursuits, are suggested by its history and its literature, its sculpture and decorative art. As was the case with other Semitic nations, the religiousness of the Assyrians was intense and extreme, and conquest was to them a religious work, indeed the very work of their gods themselves; but the satisfaction of the lust of power and gain was always the practical end. And there never was a race more practical or less imaginative and, at the same time, more intense and aggressive. These qualities were exemplified in plans and modes of action almost startling in the perfection of their simplicity and consistency, and in the remorseless energy with which they were executed and realized. As compared with the old Babylonian kingdoms (not the later Chaldæan monarchy), they were in many respects like the Roman empire compared with the Grecian states. Though they never attained the faculty of organization and administration which characterized the Romans, they yet gave the world the first example of a great organized state,—a creative idea which was ultimately adopted by imperial Rome itself (§ 6). In the genius for centralizing, concentrating, and consolidating political power Nineveh furnished a further

parallel to Rome. The comparison might be pursued further still, since the lack of creative and original faculty in science, literature, and art among the Assyrians, as contrasted with the Babylonians, is just as marked as the same phenomena among the Romans in comparison with the Greeks.[1]

§ 169. On the whole, there is at once a singular fascination and repulsiveness in the most obvious political and moral aspects of Assyrian life and history. The singleness and intensity of purpose, along with comprehensiveness and magnitude of aim and plan, the swiftness of decision and energy of action, compel our attention and excite our admiration. On the other hand, the relentless repression of all opposition, the disregard of the rights of others, the remorseless cruelty shown to enemies and especially to rebels, and the sober and sincere earnestness with which all this was carried out in the name of, and in obedience to, the gods, make us recoil with horror, even though we are conscious that the spirit, and many of the forms, of this odious religiousness are paralleled elsewhere in ancient and modern times. The temper and genius of the nation are well represented in the sculptured faces of its kings, which one who has seen can never forget. The restless activity and boundless ambition of these "subverters of the nations" are only faintly represented in the stony images. The repose of the countenance is the indication of conscious power and not of inward restfulness, while there is there an expression of resoluteness and pitilessness that excites in the beholder, even with such a wide interval of association, a feeling of inward revolt and repugnance not unmingled with awe. But though our judgment of the Assyrians is necessarily harsh, as far as the finer qualities of humanity are found wanting in them throughout their history, we must not leave out of sight certain qualifying considerations. We must remember that the accounts which have come to us mostly

[1] Cf. Tiele, BAG. p. 575.

tell of deeds of war and its concomitant violence, and that a picture completed by the portrayal of the social and civil life of this gifted and strenuous people would certainly show many lighter relieving colours. And we must not fail to look at the history of the nation from beginning to end, and to recognize, reluctantly as we may, that it fulfilled its destiny and mission by upholding itself against the rivals who, in ancient Semitic times, would else inevitably have crushed out its existence; that in vindicating and maintaining and aggrandizing itself it simply used the well-approved methods of its predecessors and contemporaries; that even the Hebrews, before the rise of Prophecy, were scarcely more humane to their stubborn foes; and that the cruelty of Christian conquerors up to very recent times, differing more in form and expression than in degree or spirit from that of the Assyrians, was perpetrated under the light of the religion whose very essence is mercy and its charter the message of peace and good-will to men.

§ 170. The history of Assyria has already (§ 78) been divided into three periods, which may now be defined as follows: —

I. The earliest period of dependence upon Babylonia. This division ends with the establishment of a separate kingdom and the rise of Nineveh, c. 1500 B.C.

II. The history up to the reorganization of the empire under Tiglathpileser III, 745 B.C.

III. The supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia, 745 B.C. to the fall of Nineveh, 608 B.C.

§ 171. The beginnings of Assyrian history are involved in obscurity. If the opinion is right which holds that the Semites started from the Arabian desert and moved northwards, there can be no reasonable doubt that the first settlers of that race on the banks of the Tigris came by way of Babylonia. We should then have to conclude that the migration was accomplished at a time long before the first dawn of known Semitic history, otherwise the purity

of race characteristic of the Assyrians, as contrasted with the Babylonians, would be inexplicable. We have to think of the settlement of Assyria somewhat as follows. Keeping in mind the general character and direction of the migrations of these divisions of the North Semitic family (§ 22, 126), we observe that while the Canaanites and the main body of the Aramæans pursued a westerly path, determined in general by the course of the Euphrates, the Babylonian division, after "Shumer and Akkad" (§ 110) had been reduced to cultivation, kept sending out colonies, or offshoots, to the north.[1] The country to the east of the Tigris furnished better land for settlement than the region between that river and the Euphrates, and it was accordingly taken up by the Babylonians, who, in contrast to their kindred, had completely abjured the nomadic life. We have already seen (§ 92) that the territory north of Baghdad, stretching up to the Lower Zab (Gutium), was inhabited about 4000 B.C. by a Semitic-speaking people. The inhabitants of this region were, in historical times at least, not prevailingly of Semitic stock, the intermixture having presumably come from the Median mountains. Now the Lower Zab was the historical southern boundary of the Assyrian people, and the assumption is natural that they were Babylonian colonists of the same general type as those who settled in Gutium, preceding the latter in their emigration, and maintaining better than they the traditions and spirit of Semitism against the marauders from the mountains. The very early date above assigned to the first Semitic settlements in Assyria is confirmed by the fact that the city of Nineveh, far to the north of the country, was in existence about 3000 B.C., trade being

[1] The supposition of Winckler (GBA. p. 149, cf. 141) that North Mesopotamia (Charran) was the centre of the oldest Babylonio-Semitic civilization, which thence spread southeastward, is altogether improbable unless we accept the hypothesis of a general Semitic migration from the northern highlands. For special objections, see Hilprecht, OBT. I, 23 f.; Jensen in ZA. VIII, 229 f.

carried on there with South Babylonia, and a temple erected by the famous Nabū (§ 96 f.) in honour of the goddess Ninā (Ishtar), from whom the city was named. Much earlier than this must the city of Asshur[1] have been founded, which, as already mentioned (§ 74), was the first seat of an organized government, and from which the empire of Assyria received its historic name. This fact may also bear testimony to the immemorial existence of some kind of nationality, with the city of Asshur as the centre. The absence of references in the extant Babylonian inscriptions for many hundreds of years shows, however, the comparative unimportance, politically, of the whole community until near 2000 B.C. It may further be taken for granted that the colony, if we may so term it, was normally held in a sort of subjection by the ruling Babylonian state (whenever it attained to wide dominion), which would maintain the leading settlements as trading-posts in the interests of mining and fishing.

§ 172. Such a state of subjection, of whatever character it may have been, is perhaps indicated by the fact that the earliest known rulers of Assyria do not call themselves "kings," but "priestly regents" (§ 98). Apparently the struggling community did not come under the protection of Babylonia till the Elamites were expelled, possibly in the time of the great Chammurabi (§ 117). The names of several of their rulers, from about 2000 B.C. onwards, have been preserved, along with the fact that they zealously promoted the old Babylonian worship. One of them, *Šamši-Rammān* ("Rammān is my sun"), son of Ishmē-Dagān, is alluded to long after as a priestly regent who had erected a temple in Nineveh to the gods Anu and Rammān. His date is fixed at about 1820 B.C. by our informant, Tiglathpileser I (§ 178 ff.), who restored the

[1] This, the name of the national god, as well as of the city and country, means "bringer of prosperity." The double name may possibly recall the pious gratitude of the earliest settlers, as well as their good fortune, and thus explain the perpetual cult of the favourite deity.

temple the second time.[1] How far he was removed from the first genuine "king" of Asshur we cannot tell, nor is it even certain as yet to whom the honour of having first worn the title is to be assigned. What we learned about the usage of these designations of the highest rank, in connection with the history of South Babylonia (§ 98), must make us cautious about asserting that the establishment of the "kingdom" was equivalent to the assertion of independence, though a coincidence between the two is of course possible. One of the later rulers[2] appears to think that his ancestor, Bēl-kapkapu ("Bel is strong"), was the earliest of Assyrian kings, while another[3] distinctly claims the merit of having changed the old regency into a monarchy for the alleged founder of his line, Bēl-ibnī. In view of the subsequent history, it should be noted how Nineveh was kept in mind by the rulers of Asshur, as we learn not only from the erection of new structures there, but also from the restoration of the venerable ruin of the temple of Ishtar (Ninā), which had been founded by Nabū a thousand years before.

§ 173. For the next two centuries there is nothing known with certainty of the fortunes of Assyria. In the second half of the sixteenth century a welcome and suggestive side-light comes from Egyptian history. It will be remembered that Thothmes III, the most powerful of all the Pharaohs (§ 145), received messengers with presents from the king of Assyria. The supposition that the famous invader and conqueror of Northern Syria penetrated also to the banks of the Tigris cannot be entertained. Nor can we assume that the territory of Assyria proper was at any time subjugated by Egypt. The matter has special interest for us at present, because it helps to throw light upon the status of Assyria, which was, in this matter, evidently acting in its own

[1] TP. VII, 60–70.

[2] Rammān-nirāri III, in I R. 35 Nr. 4, 21 ff.

[3] Esarhaddon, K. 2801; see Winckler, GBA. p. 154 f., 330.

right, and was therefore probably either preparing to secure complete independence of Babylonia, or, having already secured it, was endeavouring to enlist the support of Egypt against a rival power. An interesting question arises here in connection with the country intervening between the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is quite impossible that it should have been left out of sight in the early aggressive days of Assyrian independence, and it is at least a plausible assumption that the encroachments of Thothmes upon Mesopotamia were viewed with apprehension by the Assyrian king, who wished to guard against their extension by propitiating the great conqueror from the valley of the Nile. In any case, it must be understood that Assyria regarded itself, from the beginning of its national autonomy, as the heir of Babylonian sovereignty in the West, and it is quite in accordance with the present hypothesis that our definite information as to Assyrian progress westward indicates it as the controlling power in Mesopotamia.

§ 174. The condition of affairs in Western Asia in the sixteenth century B.C. may, we think, be broadly summarized as follows. Recalling what has been said of the affairs of Babylonia, we see that state which had dominated Mesopotamia and the West-land for many centuries, which had enriched herself by their trade and civilized them by her art and literature, and even given them her language and her writing, compelled, after a long and bitter struggle, to accept the yoke of the wild Kasshite mountaineers, and, weakened and dismembered by the strife, constrained to limit herself perpetually to the region of the Lower Euphrates, and leave the West-land an easy prey to the Egyptians and the Hettites. But this Kasshite conquest of Babylonia had fateful results in another way; it prevented the consolidation of the eastern branch of the Semites by alienating from Babylonia the Assyrian colonists, who at least remained friendly to the mother state until the foreign yoke was imposed, and the Semitic race

threatened with contamination and virtual extinction. Not improbably the Elamitic subjugation of Babylonia resulted in the expatriation of many of the native patriots and the consequent augmentation of the purely Semitic settlement north of the Lower Zab; and the traditions of self-sacrificing loyalty must have lingered in the minds of their descendants, who refused to be coerced or de-Semitized by either Kasshites or Gutē. It was, perhaps, the perpetual struggles for the maintenance of the integrity of the colony which gave to the Assyrians their historic fierceness of spirit and unbending will, and the same qualities and feelings which made them resist the Gutē and Elamites led them also to break with Babylonia, now become Kasshite. Henceforth there was almost perpetual rivalry and strife between Assyria and the parent country, in spite of their community of origin, of religion, and of all the elements of culture. Henceforth, also, it is Assyria that becomes the leading power in the West. The first issue to be decided was which of the two states should control the trade of Mesopotamia and Syria.[1] Assyria had the advantage in point of nearness, and her position also enabled her to block the road along the Euphrates and destroy the Babylonian caravans. The result of the struggle was that not until the destruction of the Assyrian capital (608 B.C.) did any Babylonian ruler appear in the West-land.

§ 175. Our next information with regard to Assyria is comparatively full, and shows it to have reached the rank of an acknowledged rival of the mother-land. We learn this from one of the most interesting and important documents of Oriental antiquity, a synchronistic summary[2] of Assyrian and Babylonian history, written from the stand-

[1] Winckler's opinion, which assumes much closer relations between Assyria and North Mesopotamia than those above suggested, and even maintains that the latter for a time dominated the former, is unsupported by anything we know as yet of the political development of the River country. See his GBA. p. 154 ff., and *Orientalische Forschungen*, I, p. 88 ff.

[2] II R. 66; III R. 4. See Delitzsch, *Kossäer;* Hommel, GBA. p. 433 ff., cf. 479 ff.; Winckler, UAG., where the text is autographed complete (p. 148–152).

point of the former nationality. The first notice from this source tells us that the king of Assyria, Asshur-bēl-nishē-shu ("Asshur is lord of his people," c. 1480 B.C.), and the Kasshite king of Babylon, Karaindash, defined the boundary of their respective territories and took a mutual oath not to transgress it. These peaceful relations were maintained by the next two kings of Assyria. A change, however, took place when the fourth ruler of the line, Asshur-uballiṭ ("Asshur gives salvation," c. 1410), gave his daughter in marriage to the Babylonian king, Burra-buriash (§ 149). But the permanent relations thus sought were not to be realized. On the death of the Kasshite son-in-law, the body-guard rose up against the half-Assyrian grandson who came to the succession, and, having put him to death, raised one of their own race to the throne. Asshur-uballiṭ then invaded the country, dethroned the pretender, and set in his place another son of Burraburiash named "Kurigalzu the lesser" (that is, the second). The subordinate position of Babylonia was not, however, agreeable to the favoured monarch, and we find him engaged in war with Bēl-nirārī, the son and successor of Asshur-uballiṭ, with results very unfavourable to himself, since he was defeated and had to yield up a large part of his territory. This triumph was followed by successes against neighbouring peoples, under a series of rulers who set the young ambitious nation fairly on its road of self-aggrandizement. The position now held by Assyria is indicated by the fact that, at the end of the fifteenth century, as we learn from letters to Amenophis IV in the El Amarna collection (§ 150), busy negotiations were carried on with the Egyptian court. Bēl-nirārī himself followed the immemorial policy of the old Babylonian empires, and pointed out to his successors the path of glory and profit by seizing the road to the centres of the Mesopotamian traffic. Of his grandson, Rammān-nirārī I (c. 1325), we have an inscription[1] of considerable length,

[1] IV R. 44 f. KB. I, 4–9 has transcription and translation. It was first translated by Smith, *Disc.* 243 ff. This is the first dated inscription known.

which is a main source of our information for all this period. He enlarged the territory of Assyria southward, repelled the Gutē and other southeastern tribes, who were long to remain troublesome enemies and were always to be found on the side of Babylonia as against the more purely Semitic northern state. His great work was not so much to extend the territory of Assyria as to consolidate and attach more firmly to his dominion the acquisitions of his predecessors. By crippling the Kasshites in their own mountain homes he struck at the great source of supply of recruits to the Babylonian armies. Perhaps of more importance still were the deeds of his son and successor, Shalmaneser I (c. 1300), the real founder of the historic Nineveh, who built what was later the southern suburb of that centre of Assyrian life and power, the city of Kalach, now the ruins of Nimrud, an achievement referred to in Gen. x. 11. His warlike enterprises were directed mainly to bringing to subjection the Aramæan tribes of Northern Mesopotamia, among whom he planted Assyrian colonies. The next king, his son Tuklat-Adar I (c. 1290), is named "king of Shumer and Akkad," and therefore (§ 110) must have become master of Central Babylonia. We may infer, in fact, from an interesting statement of Sinacherib 600 years later,[1] that he exercised some kind of sovereign authority in the city of Babylon itself.

§ 176. For the next eighty years we find the Assyrians quiescent, and the Babylonians holding their former power, though apparently not in possession of Assyrian territory. The new capital at Nineveh was chosen none too soon. While the city of Asshur was declining in importance, and perhaps in the hands of enemies, Nineveh served as the retreat of the enfeebled Assyrians of the more southerly portions of the kingdom. The evidence of the native documents as to this period is ominous as to the condition

[1] III R. 4 Nr. 2 is an inscription on a seal sent by this king to Babylon. It was found there by Sinacherib, probably at his second conquest of Babylon (689 B.C.), "600 years afterwards."

of the kingdom.[1] But the results of this first term of Assyrian independence show achievements of the utmost importance. In the first place, Semitism secured a permanent triumph. The more we study the somewhat obscure history of these three centuries, the more it becomes evident that Assyria represented the pure Semitic spirit as opposed to the miscegenating tendencies which had become inevitable in Babylonia. Not only did the descendants of the southern colonists keep themselves intact by breaking the power of the earlier barbarians; by direct as well as indirect influence they actually put an end to the undisputed rule of the Kasshites in Babylon, so that the way was prepared for their ultimate expulsion or absorption. In the second place, they established outposts and founded and maintained colonies among the Aramæan districts of Eastern Mesopotamia, to whose influence we may perhaps ascribe the fact that the Hettite conquest did not extend into that region. In the third place, Babylonia was thrust into a secondary position. The situation and enterprise of Assyria excluded the mother country from the West-land, without whose control no state could rise to supremacy in this portion of Asia. Though Assyria herself could not as yet enter into possession, she occupied the vantage-ground and held the keys.

§ 177. Babylon soon regained her independence, and, though often compelled to wage an unequal contest with Assyria, she received no ruler from the latter after Tuklat-Adar, for 600 years. Singularly enough, also, the Babylonians never succeeded in bringing Assyria under the yoke. The intervening territory was the scene of many a conflict; the soil of each country was ravaged very many times by the invading troops of the other, and the destruction of either capital was doubtless often only averted by the payment of heavy commutations. An early successor

[1] This, however, did not involve a collapse of the empire. Tributary lands west of Mount Masius were kept true to their allegiance till they were overcome by the Moschi (§ 179), about 1165 B.C. (TP. I, 62 ff.).

of Tuklat-Adar fell in battle with an unknown king of Babylon, and his successor was for a time shut up in the city of Asshur by Rammān-nādin-achē, the powerful king of the revived Babylonian state (c. 1200 B.C.), after he had unsuccessfully invaded the latter's territory.

§ 178. A new era of prosperity and power for Assyria began with the reign of Asshur-dān (c. 1190 B.C.). His chief importance lay in the fact that he made a successful invasion of Babylonia, without, however, as it would seem, annexing any territory. His grandson, Asshur-rēsh-ishī,[1] was an aggressive monarch, pushing his conquests near to the border of Elam, and bringing back to their allegiance several of the tribes of the eastern mountains. He also undertook the task of reclaiming Mesopotamia and of vindicating the claim of Asshur to the rightful rule of the West-land; but its completion was left to his successor. His most formidable rival was Nebuchadrezzar I, king of Babylon, an enterprising warrior as well as a vigorous ruler and administrator, whose importance is manifest from the fact that he was the founder of a new dynasty which overthrew the régime of the Kasshites. This new series of kings, who were purely of native Semitic origin, reigned apparently about 130 years (c. 1139–1007).[2] Its leader, Nebuchadrezzar, delivered the country from the deplorable condition of weakness and anarchy to which it had sunk during the later times of the Kasshites. These foreigners were now entirely deprived of place and influence in Babylonia, and as they were not nearly as powerful as formerly in their mountain homes, they never regained a position of influence. The new dynasty reasserted for a time the old historic claims of Babylonia, and almost succeeded in maintaining them. Nebuchadrezzar undertook, with good fortune, prolonged wars with the heredi-

[1] A brief inscription of his is published in III R. 3 Nr. 6. He is also mentioned in TP. VII, 43 f.

[2] I have adopted the estimate of Peiser, ZA. VI, 268 f., and Hilprecht, OBT. I, 43 f.

tary enemy Elam, chastised the Kasshites in their native retreats, and extended the border of Babylonia northward. In the latter undertaking he of course came in conflict with the Assyrians. His strife with them was really a contest on a much larger scale than would at first appear from the scanty notices. Its area embraced not only the borderlands, but the whole of Mesopotamia, which it would seem that Nebuchadrezzar actually subdued and, at least for a short time, held under control, even crossing the Euphrates in his victorious march westward. This magnificent triumph was, however, but very short-lived. The effort was without substantial backing in the central state, and was rather a fitful revival of the ancient spirit of Babylonia and a reminder of its ancient glories than an indication if its permanent temper and achievement. Larger and smaller issues were alike decided by the result of determined intervention on the part of Asshur-rēsh-ishī, who, although he was at first compelled to retire within his own borders, yet finally defeated Nebuchadrezzar and drove him back to his own land. The successors of the latter in the present dynasty were unable to make any attempts at conquests in Mesopotamia, and the dominion of the Westland was to remain but a dream and a memory in the minds of the Babylonians for the next 500 years.[1]

§ 179. We have now to record the principal achievements of the next king of Assyria in the regular line of descent, the famous Tiglathpileser I,[2] one of the most

[1] Our information about Nebuchadrezzar I we get mainly from an interesting state paper of his own, published by Hilprecht, *Freibrief Nebukadnezars*, 1883 (text and translation, with palæographic introduction), and V R. 55–57. Another briefer document, of a similar kind, was published in S. A. Smith's *Assyrian Letters* IV. Plates VIII and IX and translated by Meissner in ZA. IV, 259 ff. Both are translated by Peiser in KB. III, 164 ff. Hilprecht, OBT. I, p. 38 ff., proves that he was the founder of his dynasty, a conclusion supported by Oppert on other grounds, ZA. VIII, 362 ff.

[2] The current Assyrian form *Tuklat-pal-ešar* ("My help is the son of Eshar," *i.e.* the god Adar) is itself an abbreviation for *Tuklātī-apal-*

striking figures of the old Assyrian times (c. 1120–1100 B.C.). The first care of this typical ruler of his race was to see to the rebuilding of the old national temple of Anu and Rammān in the city of Asshur, which had lain in ruins for sixty years. He then embarked upon an unprecedented career of victorious warfare, the first five years of which he has himself detailed. These campaigns were conducted in the West and Northwest, and his conquests and reconquests, achieved with remarkable rapidity, embraced nearly all the regions north of Syria and Mesopotamia, and between the Mediterranean and Lake Van. Of the peoples with whom he had to do, we cannot omit to mention the Moschi[1] (*Muškē*, the Meshech of Gen. x. 2), who had crossed the Upper Euphrates and occupied provinces tributary to Assyria in the neighbourhood of the modern Diarbekr. To dislodge them he crossed Mount Masius and inflicted upon them such a defeat that they are not heard of again in this period. They were the most dangerous of the northern mountaineers, and it is easy to perceive that the aim of his expedition was to prevent them from making a descent upon Mesopotamia and Syria. Kommagene (*Kummuḫ*), in the southeast of Cappadocia, and the northeast of Roman Syria, was then overrun and made an integral part of the empire. To the north of Mount Masius, the tribes of the *Kirṭe* (the presumptive ancestors of the modern Kurds) were reduced in rapid succession. Next, he overthrew a confederation of princes of the Naïri on the upper waters of the Euphrates and Tigris, in the southerly portion of the modern Armenia. Their territory, however, he contented himself with putting under tribute, for the excellent reason that he was not prepared to administer it as a portion of his own dominions. The following year witnessed the subjugation

ešarri. Names of persons were as a rule contracted by the omission of the final vowels, by the use of the construct form, etc. — His annals (the first five years of his reign) are published, I R. 1–16, and often translated.

[1] For this people, see especially KGF. p. 127–213; Par. 250.

of the dwellers on the Middle Euphrates in Western Mesopotamia. Here and in Southern Kommagene lay the land once known as Mītāni (§ 150), which was now reoccupied by Aramæan settlers. Aramæans were also taking the place of the Hettites, even to the west of the River. Of this great people, once so terrible to Asia and Africa alike, there was now little left but the local sovereignty of petty states in Northern Syria, which could form no barrier to the slow but gradual extension of the Aramæan settlements towards their goal on the frontiers of Palestine. The old Hettite capital, Carchemish, was left unmolested, but several Aramæan strongholds in the neighbourhood were overthrown. His fifth year was devoted to expeditions in Northern Cappodocia and Western Armenia. The achievements of his first five years he summarizes as follows: "A total of forty-two countries and their princes from the other side of the Lower Zab, the boundary of remote wooded mountains, to the other side of the Euphrates, the land of the Hettites, and the upper sea of the West,[1] from the beginning of my government to the fifth year of my reign, my hand overcame; one mouth I made them all;[2] their hostages I took; tribute and fines I imposed upon them."[3]

§ 180. The absence of Tiglathpileser in these Northern and Western wars appears to have encouraged the Babylonians to invade his territory. Marduk-nādin-achē, the second successor of Nebuchadrezzar I, made (1107 B.C.)[4] a successful inroad into Assyria, plundered the city of Ekallāti ("Temple town," probably near the border), and carried off two statues of patron deities, which were afterwards recovered from Babylon by Sinacherib "418 years

[1] That is the Mediterranean south as far as the Phœnician settlements (cf. § 331).

[2] That is to say, he made them of one consent (to obey Asshur).

[3] TP. VI, 39–48. The above is given as a sample of the Assyrian "historical" style.

[4] Sinacherib furnishes us with the information and the date, III R. 14, 48 ff.

afterwards." Two defeats of the Babylonians followed,[1] which resulted in the Assyrian monarch ravaging their country as far as Babylon, which was apparently spared to its king on condition of his acknowledging Assyrian suzerainty. The passion of Tiglathpileser for hunting has indirectly made us acquainted with a still more significant fact. An admiring successor and imitator, Asshurnāṣirpal (§ 218 ff.), commemorating the exploits of this veritable Nimrod,[2] describes him as hunting and fishing on the Mediterranean coast and making marine excursions in vessels of Arvad. From this we infer that at least the northern portion of Phœnicia was subdued by him, since hunting was an invariable accompaniment of his campaigns. To complete the picture of this representative Assyrian, it should be added that his care for the development and beautifying of the cities of the home land was as remarkable as his energy and enterprise in foreign wars. Trees yielding the best timber, which from time immemorial were drawn from the West-land, he attempted to transplant to Assyria. He laid out gardens and stocked them with the best foreign fruits and vegetables. He was a zealous cattle-breeder, as well as collector of wild beasts, spoiling his foreign possessions for both purposes; and he filled the granaries of Assyria with corn. As a builder of temples to the gods which he served so zealously he ranks with the first. The city of Asshur, which was his principal residence, he made again the capital, and especially adorned it with costly structures.[3]

§ 181. For many years after Tiglathpileser, Assyria seems to have enjoyed the blessings of peace, and even to have been on good terms with Babylonia. Of foreign wars, or in fact of anything else thereafter, no notice is left us for over a century and a half. This is not merely to be

[1] *Synchr. Hist.* col. II.

[2] I R. 28; for other hunting adventures, see *The Annals*, VI, 58–84.

[3] I have dwelt with some fulness upon the career of this monarch, because it is that of the first typical Assyrian well known to us.

explained on the supposition that the records have not yet been discovered. The fact is clear enough that, while the conquests that had been made in the neighbourhood of Assyria, for example in Eastern Mesopotamia, were long held in a sort of subjection, most of the dependencies of the empire, as Tiglathpileser had established it, were one by one allowed to withdraw because of the want of a strong central power. The government gradually became inefficient even at home, as we know from the condition of things when the light again breaks in upon the obscurity, about the end of the tenth century B.C. This period of Assyrian quiescence and temporary decline is the time of the rise of the Israelitish kingdom and of its division, as well as of the growth of the various Aramæan nationalities that were built upon the ruins of the Hettite empire. It will be in place to take a rapid survey of these new conditions in the Western country.

Book V

HEBREWS, CANAANITES, AND ARAMÆANS

CHAPTER I

TRIBAL SETTLEMENTS OF ISRAEL

§ 182. Our sketch of the history and condition of Palestine and Syria, drawn with the broadest lines, brought us to the time of the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. Our materials, gained almost entirely from the old Babylonian and Egyptian monuments, were scanty in the extreme; but we were able to draw important general conclusions, and could note especially some of the providential conditions for the establishment of Israel as a people in the Land of Promise. The main external condition was that Palestine should not remain under the control of any great overmastering power which would crush out the development of a free national and religious life. We saw that the intermittent domination of the West-land by the old Babylonian monarchies was put an end to by the crippling of Babylon itself, first through the Kasshite invasions and then through the growing power of its rival, Assyria. Next, when the decline of the Euphratean realm seemed to give the great empire of the Nile free play on the Mediterranean coastlands, the Hettites asserted themselves in the North as their competitors, and their prolonged mutual strife prevented either from becoming a permanent proprietor of the coveted inter-continental high-

way; and finally, the incursions of the barbarians from the northern coast of the Mediterranean and from Asia Minor, working irreparable damage upon Hettites and Egyptians alike, left Palestine once more open. We are now being introduced to another era in the history of the West-land, which shows an equally striking provision for the chosen people. Assyria had arisen to be the greatest power in Western Asia, and her most powerful ruler, as we have seen, extended his conquests almost to the verge of Canaan. The perpetuation and increase of this pre-eminence would have been fatal to the independent life and growth of any subject state, and Assyrian rule to the south of Lebanon in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. would have meant religious and political death to Israel. The decline of the threatening monarchy during that period which has just been noted was Israel's opportunity.

§ 183. The Exodus, as we have seen above (§ 167), will probably have to be put about 1200 B.C. The events and conditions of most historical importance until the entrance into Canaan (c. 1160 B.C.) are easily enumerated. Moses, the leader, already versed in desert life and familiar with the regions to be traversed, directed the march at first towards the holy mountain-peak of Sinai. The road thither was barred by one of the leading Semitic tribes of the peninsula, the Amalekites, who offered battle and were defeated. At Sinai the covenant with Jehovah was made and ratified, and then a direct march was made upon Canaan. The people, faint-hearted by reason of their long slavery, recoiled from the dangers of an invasion, and were doomed to wander in the neighbourhood of their rendezvous, Kadesh-Barnea, till a new generation, accustomed to independence and inured to peril, took their place. With these the aged leader advanced upon the territory east of the Jordan. The nationalities kindred to Israel had already been established in the seats which they were to hold till Israel itself ceased to be a nation. These were not to be disturbed by the band of

invaders. Edom, to the east of Kadesh, was avoided by a détour. A large portion of the territory of Moab south of the Jabbok, and of Ammon to the north, had been seized, and was now ruled by a surviving colony of the ancient Amorites, who were in the position unusual to them of administering a fairly large portion of territory as one principality, which stretched from the Arnon to the Jabbok, with Heshbon as the capital. Sihon, the Amorite king, refused Israel a passage through his dominions, and came out to oppose any violation of his territory. In a battle fought in the border town of Jahaz, the invaders were victorious and the Amorites were ejected from their possessions, which, with additional territory taken from their kindred further north, were divided among the tribes of Reuben and Gad and a portion of Manasseh. The Ammonites and Moabites were allowed to retain those of their possessions which had not been seized by the Amorites. The Israelites were not further molested east of the Jordan except by intrigues and seductive arts on the part of the Moabites and a band of Midianites from the south, who were hanging in the rear, and these were put an end to by the defeat of the latter. Moses soon after died on the old sacred mountain of Nebo. Joshua, an Ephraimite, succeeded to the leadership, and the occupation of the land of Canaan proper, which was the real objective point, was begun.

§ 184. When Israel entered the Land of Promise the condition of the country was not essentially different from that which marked it during the later Egyptian and Hettite régimes, except in the direction of higher material development. The Canaanites who inhabited the central highlands had long since succeeded in subduing to agricultural uses the rugged ridges of many of the innumerable hills, and by a careful system of irrigation had made the slopes and valleys also permanently productive. Under the long quietude that followed the Egyptian invasions and the incursions of the northern strangers,

prosperity had come to the land; and in their own fashion these Canaanites advanced in civilization like their brethren on the Phœnician coast. Enriched especially by vine and wheat culture, many of their numerous villages had grown into cities, each of them a centre of independent government (§ 37) having its petty prince or "king." With their advance in prosperity grew also their indulgence in the vices and various abominations which characterized the civilization and religion of the Phœnicians and ancient Semites generally. Such a people acting in concert would be powerful enough to resist an invasion from a much stronger force than Israel could muster. They could only be conquered in detail, and gradually supplanted. Their history and present political situation rendered this comparatively easy. As we saw earlier, the genius of the race ran towards the formation and perpetuation of small independent communities, and the many invasions of the country, with frequent change of masters, added to this isolating tendency an influence which was positively disintegrating. Moreover, there was no possibility of outside alliances against the intruders. Tyre and Sidon, and the other cities of the coast, were going their own way, increasing their wealth and commercial connections by peaceful means, and were averse to entangling foreign complications. The Amorites east of the Jordan were the most formidable remnant of their decaying race, and they had been rendered powerless; while the Philistines, themselves a strange people, had not yet grown into power.

§ 185. The crossing of the Jordan was effected in the place most favourable for an invasion. Jericho, the key to the central uplands, was within striking distance of Gilgal, the first station after the passage, and was speedily taken. ʿAi, which next fell, after a temporary repulse, lay to the northwest, and its capture secured to the invaders the ancient patriarchal seat, Bethel, which became for a time the religious centre of the new community. The

country about Mount Ephraim was thus laid open to them, and a league procured by stratagem on the part of the inhabitants of Gibeon, gave them control of that more southerly city, and thus afforded them a base of operations against the Amorite chiefs of the hill country of Judah. A combined attack by these princes upon Gibeon was repulsed in a memorable engagement, and the flimsy confederation scattered. A more formidable combination of the northern cities, formed slowly and too late, in true Canaanitish fashion, was also broken. With this the mission of Joshua was accomplished; namely, to conduct the tribes together into Canaan and secure in various places throughout its extent a foothold for each of them, whence each might proceed to appropriate its own possessions. For this end a partition of the whole country was made in advance, and it was to be the aim of each tribe to occupy what was thus assigned to it. The death of Joshua thus left the country as yet only partially conquered.

§ 186. Joshua had no successor as the leader of the whole people, nor did the tribes act in common against an enemy for many years. The work cut out for each was in no case fully accomplished. The subjugation of the country was a very slow process, and was effected by amalgamation and the survival of the fittest in peaceful competition as much as by war or enforced slavery. The most noteworthy acquisition was that made by Judah. This tribe had received, during the desert residence, a most valuable addition in the Kenizzites and Kenites, headed by skilled warriors and men of action who, although not Israelites by birth, contributed largely to the success of the new settlement. Already, at this early date we have indications of the division between Judah and the majority of the other tribes, and it is noteworthy that the entrance to the country and the division of the territory for military operations were made nearly upon the line which afterwards became an international boundary. The Ephraimites occupied the midland, and partly from their

position and partly through their inherent strength, their territory became the largest and most important of the new nation, and it was, until the establishment of the kingdom, the gathering-point and the place of refuge of the other tribes. Its possession of Shiloh, the home of the ark, and of Bethel and the mountains of the Blessing and the Curse, along with other obvious advantages, made it the most powerful of all the great northern section of tribes. We are to think, however, of the overwhelming predominance of Judah and Ephraim as a matter of growth and development. Other tribes, though from the beginning of less importance, nevertheless played a part in the fortunes of the period following the occupation, Benjamin especially showing great vitality and vigour. But the progress of most of them was slow and doubtful. To secure protection it was inevitable that they should identify themselves more and more with the stronger tribes by whom they were gradually absorbed. Simeon was taken up by Judah, as was Dan also partly, the remainder seeking finally a settlement to the far north. Asshur had little more than a nominal possession to the northwest, and the tribes east of the Jordan are rarely referred to later by their tribal divisions, the geographical terms Gilead and Bashan being used by preference,—a proof that the tribal autonomy was soon relaxed, as was natural to a race of shepherds and cattle-breeders.

§ 187. The times following the settlement are usually regarded as showing, on the whole, political as well as religious and moral retrogression. The correctness of this judgment is open to doubt. It was naturally a time of hardship, the question with the people often being whether they could do even as much as hold their own. It was also a time of proof, as the song of Deborah declares, and the fidelity of the mass of the people to their own faith and worship was often rudely shaken. That the nation, in spite of this, succeeded in maintaining itself, is the significant matter. "Their advance consisted in

this, that the people learned by perpetual struggle to defend valiantly their new home and the free exercise of their religion, and were thereby preparing for coming generations a sacred place, where that religion and national culture might unfold itself freely and fully" (Ewald).

§ 188. Each section of the Israelitish possessions was in its turn harassed and humiliated by a powerful foreign foe, and sometimes the whole land was temporarily subdued. This latter was perhaps the case with the first of the periods of subjection, that under Cushanrishathaim, king of the Aramæans of Mesopotamia. The deliverance was effected, not by a leader from the northern borderland, but from the extreme south,— Othniel, one of the later contemporaries of Joshua. Our survey of Assyrian history shows that we have to place this event before the reign of Tiglathpileser I, and during that long period when the quiescence of Assyria enabled the people on the Euphrates — the successors of the old kingdom of Mītāni (§ 179) — to found a strong though not long-lived independent state for themselves. The next trouble came from closer neighbours. The passing away of the great leaders under whom the conquest of West Palestine had been effected, encouraged the Moabites to attempt to subjugate the redoubtable immigrants whom neither the arts of divination or of intrigue had availed to cripple a generation before (§ 183). The brunt of their successful invasion and subsequent oppression was borne by the southern tribes. The deliverance came from a Benjaminite, Ehud, who after daringly assassinating the king of Moab in his own palace, returned over the Jordan, and as a representative of the strong intermediary tribe roused both Ephraim and Judah to decisive and successful action against the common foe. Meanwhile the native Canaanites of the midland and north had been recruiting their shattered strength, and seizing the opportunity afforded by Israel's weakened condition, they made a last and temporarily successful attempt to suppress the hated colonists.

The weakness of Israel, ultimately due to their apostasy from Jehovah (Jud. v. 8), was directly owing to the invariable and necessary consequence of such infidelity, decline of patriotism, and of faith in the mission and future of the race. The tribes were disunited and helpless, and in the roll of honour immortalized in the song of Deborah, Judah himself is conspicuous by his absence. The faith and enthusiasm of the Jeanne d'Arc of Israel, the "prophetess" Deborah, and the skill and energy of Barak, the general whom she chose to lead a hastily mustered host, were the chief factors of the triumph which broke forever the power of the Canaanites, and gave a respite of rest and prosperity to the harassed Israelites.

§ 189. The peace of the land was next interrupted by outside enemies. Bands of marauders belonging chiefly to the race of Midian, the most widespread of the southern and eastern desert tribes, ravaged the greater part of Israelitish territory, and reduced it to an extreme of poverty and misery. From this condition help came from the divinely guided force and valour of a patriotic young farmer of Western Manasseh. The same northern tribes who had been foremost in following Barak now sent their choicest men to join the standard of Gideon. The spirit of the masses had, however, been so thoroughly broken by oppression that more than one-half of the muster took advantage of leave to retire, and of the ten thousand remaining but three hundred were chosen as most meet to face the enemy. The panic and defeat of the marauders that followed their onset were increased by additions to the pursuers furnished from the Ephraimites, whose restless jealousy of the more eager and patriotic northern tribes was appeased by judicious speech and bearing on the part of Gideon. As to Judah we hear nothing, nor, indeed, do we read that that tribe took any further part in the defence or relief of the common heritage. The victory and deliverance wrought by Gideon were so complete that the grateful people offered him a dictatorship.

This he refused; but his influence over them remained unbounded till his death, and was increased by his making his family seat a centre of religious services, to which all the tribes learned to resort. So great was his prestige that his son Abimelech had no difficulty in getting himself proclaimed "king," even after his murder of nearly all his brethren. The fact that this cruel usurper could rule for three years, even over a limited territory, is a striking commentary on the condition of Israel in these days of probation. The most important event of his brief reign was his destruction of the half-Canaanitish city of Shechem, which at first welcomed his authority and then was instigated to rebellion. The renovated city, which was to play a great rôle in coming days, now became purely Israelitish, and thenceforth came under the tribal or general authority; so that we hear no more of that strange contradiction to Hebraic custom offered by a city choosing its own prince or supreme ruler (cf. § 49). The death of Abimelech, during the siege of another insurgent fortress, put an end also to ventures in king-making on any but a national scale. The times, however, were clearly growing ripe for the larger experiment.

§ 190. The next term of subjection to foreign invaders was of moment to Israel both east and west of Jordan. It has been already remarked that the settlements east of Jordan did not long maintain their tribal relation as steadfastly as the majority of those on the west. The difference in their respective situations had much to do with this. In the first place, they were, in large measure, cut off from the main current of national life. In the second place, their lot was cast among peoples who were far more formidable than the Canaanites, by reason of their more highly developed political organization. Moab and Ammon were, in fact, nations unlike either Canaanites or Amorites, of whom we now hear no more as disturbers of the peace of Israel. Hence the maintenance of any large association east of the Jordan was out of the question.

Separate cities, controlling tracts of valuable pasture-land or plantations, might be and were held by descendants of Jacob, but their preservation depended, as we see in later history (for example, the case of Jabesh-Gilead), on their being able to keep up direct communication with the consolidated power on the west, and the ability of the latter to protect them against any foreign foe. We must, therefore, keep the general fact in mind that, while Israelitish settlements on the east did not cease to exist till Assyrian times, their incorporation in the state as a whole was only fully realized under the most powerful of the later kings. After the disruption of the monarchy they are found only associated with the northern kingdom. A glance at the map will show how this was necessarily the case.

§ 191. The Ammonites, whose territory lay to the east of Gad and Gilead, took advantage of the depressed condition of Israel to seize the settlements east of the Jordan, including the "villages of Jair," whose founder and administrator (Jud. x. 3 ff.) had in an earlier time secured the peace and prosperity of the district. They then began to pass over and reduce the western country as well. A deliverer never failed to arise in the time of Israel's greatest distress; and now an avenger appeared in the person of a recalled and rehabilitated outlaw named Jephthah, a Gileadite, in whom heroic and lofty courage was mixed with superstition and rashness, and whose character and actions afford a good index to the beliefs and manners of the times. Under his leadership, and after a fruitless negotiation undertaken by him, the Ammonites were attacked and defeated, and dislodged from all their newly acquired possessions as far as the borders of Moab. The sequel of this victory marred the glory of the triumph. The leading tribe of Ephraim once more manifested both unreadiness and jealousy, and being too late in sending their forces to be of help to Jephthah they accused him of selfish ambition in ignoring them. Jephthah was of a dif-

ferent temper from Gideon, and instead of using smooth and politic words he accepted their implied offer of battle, and this first bloody outbreak of intertribal strife ended in the overthrow and humiliation of Ephraim. The stern and rugged deliverer kept order for only six years in the territory he had saved.

§ 192. Meanwhile a struggle had begun in the south-west with the most formidable foe yet encountered, which was to last for several generations, and to end with the undisputed predominance of Israel throughout Palestine. The Philistines, as already indicated (§ 166), were probably a survival of the invasion from the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, which took place in the closing days of the residence of the Israelites in Egypt. On the low-lying coastlands they gained a permanent foothold, and established their sway from the historic Egyptian frontier south of Gaza to beyond Joppa northward. Their race and origin have long been a matter of dispute, and it may be that the final word on the subject cannot yet be spoken. They came from Caphtor, which very probably means Crete; at any rate, a portion of the Philistines are known as Cretans.[1] That they were of Semitic origin may fairly be called in question, though when they come fully before us, in the days of the later Judges, they seem to have been pretty well Semitized. The favourite theory at present about them is that they were the descendants of a Semitic colony formerly settled in Crete. This is on the face of it a very improbable supposition, to judge by what we know of Semitic migrations. Moreover, the arguments in evidence of a Semitic origin are hardly strong enough for presumptive proof. They may very readily have acquired and used the language of Canaan, and have superadded important elements of Semitic religion to their own; but this would have been done by any foreign uncivilized settlers among

[1] Though specially used of David's body-guard, the word כרתי has in 1 Sam. xxx. 14, Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5, a tribal and territorial application.

such a population as that of Palestine at that period. The strongest evidence of a foreign origin is, I think, the character of their political organization, which at first was non-Semitic in character and afterwards conformed to the Canaanitic pattern. At the time of their earliest systematic conflicts with Israel, they were a confederation of cities (§ 54), each with its own king or lord, and three centuries later each of these members of the union had become an entirely independent state. Their chief cities were five in number: Ashdod, Askelon, Gaza, Ekron, and Gath. At the time of the Israelitish invasion of Canaan they do not appear by name, though Judah is mentioned (Jud. i. 18) as having taken some of these cities. This is evidence of their comparatively late arrival in Canaan and of their gradual extension and growth in power. We soon hear of them being engaged in a border raid, and of being repulsed with great loss by a Hebrew leader named Shamgar, with the use of very primitive weapons.

§ 193. Their later attacks were more successful, and they made at least all the west of Judah subject to them. They also crippled the family of Dan so severely that these were excluded from their small precarious settlements in the southwest and sought a home in the far north, which they secured by summarily making an end of the quiet and inoffensive inhabitants. Before the departure of the Danites, however, and while their small encampment remained half-way between Jerusalem and the Sea, they furnished a defender and popular hero to the oppressed Hebrews. Samson was a "judge" quite unique among his class. His services to Israel consisted in the performance of single actions of heroic daring, resulting in the wholesale destruction of bands of the Philistines — the last of them, which brought about his own death, being the most spectacular and effective of them all — rather than the successful expulsion or subjugation of organized forces of the enemies of his people. His life, and even his death, which occurred twenty years after he had begun his career of

defiance and open revolt, were therefore without great political significance; and the fortune of war continued to be on the side of the well organized and equipped Philistines, who soon began to have dreams of wider conquest, to be realized in the subjection of the northern tribes as well. This brings us to the most critical and at the same time the most heroic and stirring period in the history of Israel, when the life of the people was renewed on a grander scale, and a nation of infinite promise and potency arose on the ruins of a community distracted and torn from within and without, and hopeless and humiliated to the last degree (Jud. xix.–xxi.).

§ 194. The chances of success must have seemed to be with the Philistines. They had the advantage, above all, of unity, and the aggressiveness of a vigorous, self-conscious nationality. Beside, while they had in their front scattered remnants of unsubdued Canaanites, who, if not neutral, would certainly seek to injure the Hebrews, they had in their rear no enemies at all. On the other side, Israel was apparently ruined by its inveterate internal strife, which had just resulted in the almost total destruction of the Benjaminites, and was, moreover, hard-pressed by enemies on every hand. And so the attacks of the Philistines in full force seemed to foretoken the utter ruin of Israel. After a first repulse, the ark of Jehovah was brought, as a last resort, from its seat in Shiloh; but its presence did not save the army, which was almost annihilated at Aphek, near Mizpah. The prolonged absence of the ark among the Philistines suggests to us in the strongest possible manner the degradation of the whole community during the following years. A triumph over the Philistines on the same battle-field, after the return of the ark, gave them a temporary reprieve, but this was again followed by Philistian domination, which extended so far that they brought under their control the whole centre and south of Israel, established their headquarters in Geba in Benjamin, and even terrorized the people into the disuse

of military weapons. From this situation the land was rescued through a marvellous combination of providential circumstances, which, after a long and doubtful conflict, finally led to the subjugation of the Philistines and the consolidation of the Israelites into a new nation, under a new form of government.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY

§ 195. THE welding of the disorganized tribal communities of Israel into one administrative whole was accomplished along with and through the rise and progress of an internal movement among the people of a far more profound and far-reaching character. The chief proximate influence in the establishment of the monarchy was the new Prophecy, which led to a development of spiritual life and enthusiasm, and their wise direction to practical political ends, — a combination never elsewhere in the world's history so successfully made, not even in cases where Israel's history has been emulated as a precedent. It fell to the lot of Samuel, the first and one of the greatest of the political prophets, to give to the new religious movement convergence and force. The time had evidently come (§ 50) when the demand of the harassed and discontented people for a king, or perpetual dictator, could not remain any longer unheeded. A theocratic commonwealth, with Jehovah himself as the head and earthly ruler, was found to be impracticable. The government through "Judges" (§ 51) was itself, in many cases, only a compromise with the monarchical principle, and it had not succeeded (2 Sam. vii. 10, 11). Even the union of civil and religious functions in the hands of Eli, the best and most revered of the Priests, had ended in signal failure, through the degeneracy of the noblest of the sacerdotal families, illustrating and typifying as it did the moral decline of the nation that was to be wholly devoted to Jehovah. There was, therefore, no

refuge but a resort to monarchy. But this was not to be adopted as an ideal; indeed, it was just the reverse of this. It was to be granted as a necessity of the situation, and the people whose shortcomings had created such a necessity were shown to be responsible for the failures of the past, and warned against the delusion that the mere appointment of a king would save a state given over to impiety and infidelity (§ 52).

§ 196. The emergency called for a man of courage, military talent, and popular gifts. Samuel was directed to make a private and then a public choice of Saul, a man of property and family influence, a native of Gibeah. Belonging, as he did, to Benjamin, his appointment had not only the effect of bringing to the front again that terribly smitten and dejected tribe, but, what was of more consequence, it transferred the leading place from the centre to the south of Israel, and thus enlisted the reserve force of Judah, a tribe which had not as yet taken any prominent or serious part in national affairs. But the Philistines pressed heavily upon the centre, upon Ephraim and Manasseh, as well as upon the south, and if these tribes were to be preserved they would be obliged to come under the leadership of Benjamin, against which they were lately arrayed in desperate strife, and, moreover, to act in concert with their brethren of the south as one united body. Providentially, the first action taken by Saul — the rescue of the men of Jabesh in Gilead from impending destruction at the hands of the Ammonites — could not fail to help on the spirit of unity, since the march northward and eastward lay through the territory of the tribes whose conciliation was the most necessary and the most difficult. After the defeat and dispersion of the Ammonites, and the adhesion of Gilead to the new kingdom, it was felt that the time had come for decisive action against the Philistines. In this task Saul found an able and, indeed, an indispensable seconder in his son and presumptive successor, Jonathan, the most heroic and engag-

ing personality in the annals of ancient Israel. Jonathan surprised and overcame the military post at Geba, and then, when the Philistines appeared in force to chastise the feeble nation, which they had expected to keep under with a small garrison, he put their host into a panic by an act of supreme daring, accompanied as he was by his armour-bearer alone. The rout which followed relieved Israel of the immediate presence of foreign invaders, though the Philistines did not abandon their designs against an enemy whom they had once learned to despise.

§ 197. For a time success attended Saul, at least in the affairs of war. The hereditary enemies of Israel to the east and south were held in check, and the southern border of Judah was relieved from its most formidable scourge by a successful and sanguinary expedition against the Amalekites. Saul, however, was merely a military leader; his civil administration was not successful, and under him the theocratic kingdom could not be maintained. "A man after Jehovah's mind" was being trained to take his place. David, a young shepherd skilled in music, of Bethlehem in Judah, was, on account of this accomplishment, brought to the court of Saul, where he became his favourite minstrel. Later he distinguished himself by slaying a Philistine champion in single combat, and proved himself also an adroit man of affairs. He became the friend of the noble, unselfish Jonathan, and the idol of the people. His popularity excited the jealousy of Saul, whose active enmity exiled him from the neighbourhood of the court. He gathered around him a band of discontented roving youths, who with him made a living as best they could in the wilds of the territory of Judah. Still followed by Saul, he finally transferred his allegiance, with his following, to the Philistian king of Gath. Here he was allowed a free hand, and he found occasion to serve his brethren of Southern Judah, and at the same time his own interest, by repelling and spoiling various marauding tribes, which from time immemorial had rendered the settlement of that part of the country an impossibility.

§ 198. Meanwhile it was faring ill with the young monarchy and its head. The secession of David and his men, and the relaxing of Saul's authority generally, weakened the kingdom vitally. The Philistines, who since their last-mentioned defeat had met with another repulse, in consequence of the victory of David over their champion, still kept up aggressive warfare, and were now concentrating their forces in the central region of Ephraim and Manasseh. Saul's last campaign was directed against this deadly assault, and he met the enemy on the line of the historic march of invasion, in the plain of Jezreel, which had now become to the Philistines a well-accustomed road. The brave ill-fated king was forced to retreat fighting, till he was pressed as far as the northern side of Mount Gilboa. Here his troops made a stand, but in vain. Their overthrow was complete, and Saul himself, after the death by his side of Jonathan and his brothers next in age, sought the same refuge from the ignominy of capture. He died not ingloriously; for he was to the end a Hebrew patriot, and the faithful defender of the realm which he was called from out of modest and congenial obscurity to rule and save.

§ 199. It will, perhaps, be well to take here a brief review, emphasizing a few points of political moment. First, as to the chronology of the period. Saul's death may be put down nearly at 1000 B.C. We get this approximate date by working backwards from the known times of later kings. As we have seen (§ 167), the date of the Exodus and the subsequent entrance into Canaan could only be inferred from supposed contemporary Egyptian events. The intervening period of the "Judges" it is impossible to divide in order of succession, as we do not know how many of them may have ruled, at least partly, at the same time. Next, as to the character of Saul's kingdom and its relation to the government of the Judges (cf. § 49, 51). We must not be led astray by the use of the word "king," and suppose that anything like a radical

transformation was effected in the relative position of the ruler and the ruled. The kingship of Saul was a very different thing from that of the later kings, and even from that of his first successor. He was still very much of a "judge," only his authority was acknowledged by all Israel, and the title and authority of king were to be hereditary. Saul's growth into the new dignity was gradual, and always incomplete. At first he returns to his farm after the repulse of the Ammonites, and to the end he seems more like an Homeric chieftain than the monarch of a self-conscious nation. His court and ways of life were simple in the extreme. The main cause of this was not merely that the situation was new, but that Israel was, strictly speaking, as yet no nation. It is thus quite natural that we hear of no standing army; that war, the main public business of the time, was waged by hasty and temporary levies; that there was no cabinet or council, no ministry of state, not even any governors over subordinate districts. David, who introduced these and other essentials of permanent government, was, in fact if not in name, the first king of Israel.

§ 200. Let us now look at the tribes of Israel and the several communities throughout Palestine. In the times of the Judges we found one section of the newly settled territory after another coming to the front, and asserting itself through its leading man. As we saw, some of the tribes are scarcely represented in any common action on a large scale, and these soon drop out of sight entirely. Throughout the whole period, the tribes which occupied or bordered upon the hilly central region called Mount Ephraim, held the foremost place. The arena of decisive action may be observed, however, to gradually shift towards the south, and with the choice of Saul the tribe of Benjamin takes the lead. It is noteworthy, further, that the most southerly of the great tribes was being built up by Saul's young rival, whether designedly or unconsciously, so that, on the decline of the Benjaminite régime, Judah

was ready to make good its claims through David. In this we have a suggestion of the internal movements and motives that helped to determine, through their increasing influence, the world-wide issues of the later times, with which our main interest lies. The Canaanites, whom we saw everywhere among the new settlers of the beginning of the period, are still to be found here and there at the end;[1] but they had lost all prestige, with what little cohesiveness they once possessed, and were rapidly being absorbed. They no longer prevented the integration of the Hebrews, but their place was taken by a more formidable enemy, with some capacity for organization and superior military genius. Under their weight and impact Israel was being gradually pulverized. The Philistines had, however, not seriously disturbed the external form of any of the new settlements, since their occupation so far was mainly military. Such Hebrew communities, wherever they were maintained, were essentially unimpaired, even in those outlying districts where tribal solidarity and national spirit were in abeyance. The unit of corporate existence, the family or clan, still remained intact, and the carefully preserved genealogies combined with pride of race to keep alive the sense of kinship with a great and worthy whole, so that, when the times became ripe for the reknitting of the ancient bonds, Israel could once more claim its own.

§ 201. The two hundred years which elapsed between the Exodus and the monarchy of David witnessed great changes, not only in Palestine, but throughout Syria also. The whole territory between the Euphrates and the border of Egypt was being taken up anew by migrations of peoples of Semitic stock. Whether the Aramæans had made any actual settlements to the west of the Euphrates before the Hettite occupation, is doubtful. The Biblical accounts make no mention of them, but place them all in the region of the "Rivers." The Egyptian and (more

[1] Note, *e.g.*, the Ashtaroth of 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

accurate) Babylonian monuments are equally silent. There is a common impression that Damascus, at least, was Aramæan from the earliest times,[1] but it is difficult to learn upon what this supposition is based. More probably it, as well as much of the territory to the north and northwest, were originally peopled by Amorites; indeed, it is plausible that its (the Babylonian and Assyrian) ideogram means "the Amorite city," as being the chief seat of that people. The Egyptian testimony to the occupation of the country north of Lebanon by the same race has been (§ 132) already referred to. The absence of mention of the Hettites, except as represented by the geographical name, in the Assyrian records, from Tiglathpileser I onwards, can only be explained on the theory that the Aramæans, having crossed the River, had succeeded in expelling and absorbing the remnants of that once powerful race; and we cannot believe that, after the time of the monarchy in Israel, any organized body of them was to be found in this territory, now wholly Semitic or Semitized.[2] The continuance, for example, of the Hettite rule in Hamath, after the establishment of Aramæan kingdoms in Zobah and Damascus, would have been simply impossible. The Hettites were confined to the country nearest Cappadocia, about Carchemish, on the slopes of Mount Amanus, and north and northwestward in Cilicia. The allusions to them in the time of David and even later, not referring to individuals, must be taken in the same vague, traditional, geographical sense as that which was perpetuated by the Assyrians when they called the whole of Syria "the land of the Hettites" (cf. § 226).

§ 202. With this exception, then, Syria was wholly Aramaic in the eleventh and tenth centuries, and thus the greater part of the old caravan routes was in the hands of Aramæans. To them the famous cities lying on the route certainly owed their main growth. These were (after

[1] Meyer, GA. § 176, n.

[2] See Note 5 in the Appendix.

Carchemish), Aleppo (Assyr. *Ḫalman*), Hamath (Assyr. *Amātu*), and Damascus. Each of them was the centre of an independent government of variable extent, Aleppo being the most isolated. Hamath in the middle of the ninth century was a kingdom of importance, controlling the upper part of the Orontes Valley and extending to the Mediterranean. It was also, more than a century earlier, a state of some consequence (2 Sam. viii. 9 ff.). It is the classical Epiphania (modern *Ḥamāh*), and was the point where the caravan route from the northeast entered the Orontes Valley. This natural passage would seem to furnish the true explanation of the phrase "the entrance to Hamath," which was the popular designation of the vaguely conceived northern boundary of Canaan, stretching out between the Lebanons to the central emporium. Further south, along the Orontes basin, extended the kingdom of Zobah (צוֹבָה, Assyr. *Ṣūbit*). It was also important in the history of the undivided Israelitish monarchy, but declined soon after, though the city which gave it the name survived at least three centuries longer. It lay, probably, near the modern Ḥoms and not far north of the Hettite stronghold, Kadesh, over which, of course, the kingdom of Zobah bore sway. The most important of all was Damascus, whether as a city or a kingdom. The zenith of its power was reached in the ninth century, when its territory extended far down into the Hauran. In the time of David, as we shall see presently, it was merely a more powerful kind of rival of several other small principalities. Its history is of the highest interest and importance. It was the greatest city or state ever erected by the Aramæans, and its relations with Assyria, still more than with Israel, show that this race of traders could develop not only military genius of a high order, but also patriotism and courage worthy of any country or of any age (see § 235 ff.).

§ 203. With the death of Saul and Jonathan the struggling monarchy in Israel seemed doomed forever. The

Philistines settled themselves at once in the plain of Jezreel, as a separating force in the heart of Palestine. That their triumph was not a permanent one was due, in the first instance, to the courage and devotion of Saul's general, Abner, who gathered the scattered remains of the army east of the Jordan, and proclaimed as king Ishbosheth (that is, Ish-Baal), a surviving son of Saul. He succeeded in asserting his dominion over Gilead and the country west of Jordan, from Jezreel to Benjamin. David's claim was acknowledged by Judah alone. His general, Joab, to whom he owed the chief part of his subsequent military success, cultivated strife with the legitimist party assiduously and with growing advantage, until Abner deserted the waning fortunes of Ishbosheth and sought to transfer his allegiance to David, for the avowed reason that the latter alone would be able to deliver Israel from the Philistines. But he was treacherously slain by Joab, and his hereditary chief was also assassinated. The whole kingdom then fell to David, with the formal and voluntary acknowledgment of his sovereignty by the elders of all the tribes.

§ 204. David was still a young man when he came to the throne of the united kingdom. His first two achievements were of lasting moment. The Philistines were finally overcome so decisively that they were relegated to their proper home on the coastland, where they remained for many centuries without permanent increase of territory, though by no means an unimportant factor in the later politics of Palestine. Of scarcely less importance for the future was the capture of Mount Zion from the remnant of the Amorite tribe of Jebusites, and its fortification and upbuilding as the capital of the nation. In no action of the life of David is his political and military genius better illustrated. The wavering tribe of Benjamin, which had just been deprived of headship in Israel, was conciliated and inseparably unified with the ascendant tribe of Judah, on whose borders Jerusalem lay. Its commanding position

marked it out as a place for the tribes to go up, where the sanctuary, with the ark now finally at rest, invited them to worship. Its natural strength made it virtually impregnable, at least to any Palestinian or Syrian foe, and, in fact, the strongest fortress in all Western Asia. These auspicious movements were the beginning of a series of successes which made David the most powerful ruler west of the Euphrates, and the foremost man of his age. Not only Palestine and the principalities east and south, including Moab (which had absorbed the tribe of Reuben), Ammon, Edom, and Amalek, but Syria also, as far as Hamath, were either subdued or else propitiated his favour with costly gifts. The Amalekites, as it would seem, were finally obliterated. Edom was put under Israelitish administration. The war with the Ammonites was the longest and most severe, next to that with the Philistines. It was ended towards the middle of David's entire reign of about forty years. The subjection of this ancient enemy, which was of such importance for the eastern portion of the kingdom, was delayed by the intervention, in Ammon's behalf, of Syrian tribes from the north, who saw it to be necessary to accept the inducements of Ammon to make head against one who threatened to absorb Syria as well as Palestine. The most powerful of these Aramæan kingdoms was at that time Zobah, whose king, Hadadezer, led the auxiliaries drawn from Rehob, Tob, and Maacha — petty principalities not far from Damascus, whose site is not definitely ascertained — as well as from his own immediate subjects. His complete defeat at the hands of Joab surprised him into the conviction that he must summon all possible allies to his side, if the Aramæan communities throughout Syria were themselves not to be put under the Hebrew yoke. Accordingly, he secured the help of his kindred to the east of the River, and confronted Israel with a great army. David now took the field in person, with a levy of all his fighting men. The first great trial of strength between Israel and Aram was

decided in favour of the former, and then, after the defeat of troops from Damascus, who were sent too late and perhaps reluctantly to the assistance of Hadadezer, the whole of Syria, as far as the Euphrates, submitted to David. This included the king of Hamath, who had been at war with Hadadezer, and now sent gifts, with his homage, to the victorious head of Israel. The capture of the strong city of Rabbath-Ammon, in the next year (c. 980 B.C.), put an end to the outside wars of David. The possessions thus secured, including the tributary districts, were indeed large, — too large to be permanently retained by David's successors, — and formed forever after the ideal extent of the realm of Israel.[1]

§ 205. David had now leisure to attend to the organization of his dominions. He had already strengthened and beautified the city which he had made his capital instead of Hebron. There he had established a bureau of administration with the regular officials of a government conducted on the scale of the great contemporary monarchies, including a secretary of state and a court annalist, to whose functions we owe it that from this time forward we are instructed fairly well as to the affairs of Israel. The foundation of a standing army was laid by the selection of a valiant body-guard, composed largely of Philistian mercenaries. He now proposed to have all the inhabitants of his dominions enumerated, mainly, no doubt, for the purpose of a direct taxation, a movement which was condemned and punished by Jehovah, as indicating the desire to accumulate wealth at the expense of the people, and to promote the centralizing principle which was so characteristic of the despots of the ancient East (§ 52). Such an impost would probably have been resented

[1] The kingdom proper, according to the census, extended on the west as far north as Kadesh on the Orontes (2 Sam. xxiv. 6; see Note 5 in Appendix). On the east, Dan (Laish) was the limit northward, since the Aramæan tribes were merely made tributary, and not annexed to Israel.

by the people, who had not yet fully renounced the loose relations of tribal or family autonomy, and whose centrifugal tendency was being encouraged by miserable distractions in the latter portion of David's reign. These disturbances were wholly domestic and internal in their origin, and sprang from the inner circle of David's own family, being due to sentimental and moral weakness, which he shared with many Oriental monarchs. Ending, as they did, in fratricidal revenge, and in the rebellion, almost parricidal, of his handsome and voluptuous son Absalom, they were not only grievous beyond expression to David, but had almost resulted in the rending asunder of the nation on the old deepest lines of cleavage. The rebellion was subdued, but not before a sanguinary battle had been fought, in which Absalom was slain. In the intrigues and the struggle, old jealousies and hatreds were revived, another briefer uprising evoked, and a renewed sentiment of bitterness excited, which prepared the way for the schism which was before long to take place. Such, however, had been the political sagacity and insight displayed by David in the early upbuilding of the nation, and so great was the influence of David's chosen counsellors, that even after the king had become decrepit and passive the newly forged bond of union held firmly together; and when his death-hour came (c. 960 B.C.), although there was a dispute as to the succession, which was not settled without cruel bloodshed, involving the death of the rival claimant Adonijah, and of Joab his champion, the people soon cordially submitted to the yoke of the new king Solomon.

§ 206. The significance of the reign of Solomon consisted mainly in his zealous cultivation of the arts of peace. David's subjugation and chastisement of the surrounding tribes had been so thorough and drastic that no very serious outside complications were to be feared, and Solomon was free to execute his magnificent architectural plans and other projects for the beautifying and strengthening of Jerusalem and the kingdom. Of special value to

him were the friendly relations between Phœnicia and Israel, continued from the time of David. The Israelites had had but little scope for the development of artistic skill in any direction, and possessed but little æsthetic taste. For the erection of the great buildings which Solomon undertook, architects and master-builders were furnished by Hirom of Tyre. Of these edifices, the Temple on the Moriah peak of Zion was the greatest work, though not the most costly or extensive. As the choice of Jerusalem to be the national fortress and capital was the most important act of David, so the erection of the national sanctuary on its most conspicuous hill (projected also by David) was the most important in the life of Solomon, and, indeed, of untold significance for all coming ages. Solomon's architectural activity was not limited by the building of the sacred edifice, and for means to carry out his vast designs of improvement generally it was necessary to make heavy demands upon the people. Moreover, as the administration of the kingdom became more complex, as wealth and luxury increased, especially in the capital, the king's household became vastly enlarged, and contributions had to be made for its maintenance from the whole country. These needs involved a new division and organization of the whole kingdom for the purpose of collecting taxes and other imposts. Accordingly, twelve districts (excluding Judah) were mapped out, each with its own officer. This administrative division interfered to some extent with the autonomy of the family as a governmental unit, and still more with the old tribal principle, so that, as the simple conditions of social and national life were gradually broken up, the nation, or, rather, the monarchy, became of more and more importance. And yet a true and lasting unification was never reached. The influences that seemed and were partly intended to secure this end resulted finally in its nullification. The country, indeed, prospered beyond precedent. Through the help of the Tyrians, Israel maintained for a time something of a

foreign commerce by the Red Sea; and an overland trade with Egypt, on the one hand, and with the kings of Syria and the Hettites of Cilicia and Cappadocia, on the other, was briskly and profitably carried on. In this traffic Israel acted not merely as an intermediary, but also as a self-interested principal. These and kindred enterprises tended greatly to national aggrandizement. But the canker of idolatry, the practice of which was encouraged in Solomon by his numerous heathen wives, combined with growing moral weakness, paralyzed his force as a theocratic king, and undermined his authority. Then came popular discontent with the new autocratic administration and its intolerable burdens; and when, towards the close of Solomon's life, a former officer of his, an Ephraimite named Jeroboam, began to foment a revolt, he was sure of a large following outside of the favoured tribe of Judah. The projected insurrection was not carried out, and Jeroboam fled to Egypt to avoid arrest and execution; but it was now only a question when Solomon's death should take place and then would come the impending outbreak.

§ 207. Solomon, indeed, had not been neglectful of means for strengthening his dynasty and maintaining the integrity of the nation. His chief motive in making his numerous matrimonial alliances with foreign kingly powers was, no doubt, the consolidation of his kingdom and its protection against more remote invaders. The most important of these contracts was that made with Pasebchanu II of Egypt, the last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty, whose daughter Solomon received in marriage. It is further significant of a desire to make the territories of the two nations conterminous, that the Egyptian king captured the frontier city of Gaza and bestowed it upon the Israelitish monarch as the dowry of his daughter. But this compact was fruitless of permanent results. Egypt was itself in a very unstable condition. The successors of Ramses III, of the Twentieth Dynasty (1180–1050), nine in number, all of them bearing the same name, had become

mere tools in the hands of the great priestly guild of Thebes, and their reign is marked both by domestic weakness and by official corruption. The next dynasty, the Twenty-first (1050–945), was not only controlled by priests, but actually consisted throughout of high-priests of Amon at Thebes. Under them the state kept steadily growing internally weaker, and though the last of the kings just named was able to preserve the boundaries of the kingdom, he was deposed by the leader of the Libyan mercenaries, who for about a century had been gradually getting control of the country which they had been hired to protect. The usurper, known to us by the name of Shishak, adopted a policy hostile to Solomon, and so gave encouragement and protection to fugitives from Israel and its subject states, the most noted of whom was Jeroboam.

§ 208. When Solomon, shorn of his moral glory and crippled in his outward dignity, was removed by death (c. 925 B.C.), and his son Rehoboam was formally acknowledged by his own tribe and the border-land of Benjamin, the northern people gathered themselves in Shechem, the central city of traditional sanctity, and demanded a relaxation of their burdens as a condition of their allegiance. This being refused by Rehoboam, who had come to receive their homage, they raised the standard of revolt under the lead of Jeroboam, whom they formally chose as their king. To him flocked all Israel north of Benjamin. Henceforth, for two hundred years, we have a divided Israel, and now, instead of the kingdom of such fair promise, which, if it had not been for the infidelity and immorality of its founders, might have extended itself so as to become an empire superior to Egypt and fit to cope with Assyria, we see two broken fragments of a state, often at war with one another, and each of them sure to become an easy prey to the Eastern conquerors, when their victorious career should bring them to the West-land.

§ 209. The ideal Israel was further marred by two significant movements which had begun in the days of

Solomon. Edom, which had been invested and garrisoned by David, revolted under the leadership of Hadad, a native Edomite, who had sought refuge at the court of the Pharaoh at the time of the conquest of his country, and had returned after the death of David. The trade by the Red Sea, and its port of Ezion-geber, was under the control of the Edomites, and this revolt was serious enough to put a stop to the traffic which was only carried on for the Hebrews by Phœnician sailors. The other movement was much more serious. It was the development of the city and territory of Damascus, which, before a century had passed, became more powerful than either section of the Israelitish kingdom. In Solomon's time its growth was specially promoted by Rezon, a fugitive from Zobah, who, after the conquest of that country by David, led a detachment of his fellow-countrymen to Damascus, where he raised himself to supreme power, and succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Israel. Moab and Ammon also asserted their independence, apparently just after the Hebrew schism.

CHAPTER III

DIVIDED ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

§ 210. The first impulse of Rehoboam was to put down the revolt by force, but better counsels prevailed, leading him to see that it was more than a mere insurrection. It was, in fact, a spontaneous movement on the part of the main body of the Israelites to secure a more equitable administration, and, at the same time, to rebuke the arrogance of Judah. The schism left the southern section a mere remnant. Yet it had still many elements of strength and stability, especially the possession of the temple and the palace, whose splendour and prestige the northern kingdom never succeeded in rivalling; also, a purer worship and a feeling of loyalty among the people of the well-compacted territory, which secured a permanence of dynastic rule throughout the four trying centuries that were to follow (§ 272 ff.). Jeroboam endeavoured to offset the attractiveness of Jerusalem and the influence of its temple by erecting shrines to other deities, as well as to Jehovah, in his own kingdom. Strong fortresses, at Shechem and at Penuel, were also erected, and trusted to for the defence of Ephraim and Gilead. Forbearance was only temporary, and hostilities soon broke out between the sister kingdoms, the details of which have not come to us. It would appear that the Judæans at first had the advantage, probably through the possession of the body-guard of trained warriors, which had been maintained as carefully by Solomon as by David. Penuel, in fact, seems to have been fortified on account of a forced retreat from

the country on the west of the Jordan, defended by Shechem. Normally, however, Judah was bound to become weaker than its more populous and richer northern neighbour, and an unexpected blow received by Rehoboam served to precipitate the relative decadence of his kingdom. Egypt had taken no aggressive part in the affairs of Palestine or Syria for three centuries. But the first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty (945–800), the Libyan commander Shishak (945–924), already mentioned (§ 207), was vigorous enough to take advantage of the civil strife that reigned in Palestine, and invaded Judah in the fifth year of Rehoboam (920 B.C.). He was the same Pharaoh who had given shelter to Jeroboam, but he does not seem to have preserved his friendly feelings, for, according to his own report, he captured and pillaged towns in the northern as well as in the southern kingdom. With many lesser places, Jerusalem itself was taken by the Egyptians, and a large part of the treasure of Solomon was carried away.[1] No permanent subjection of Judah was effected by this invasion, and in the reign of Rehoboam's successor, Abijah (909–907 B.C.), the southern kingdom had so far recovered as to gain a victory over Jeroboam in a general engagement.

§ 211. The dynasty of Jeroboam extended through the brief reign of but one successor, Nadab (c. 910–909). The usurpations and revolutions that followed did not change the hostile attitude of the two kingdoms, even when the Philistines began to renew their incursions into the Ephraimitish territory. In the course of a campaign against them, Nadab was slain by an officer from Issachar

[1] On the southern wall of the court of the great temple of Amen at Karnak, Shishak has a sculpture representing this campaign. Among the 133 places enumerated, Brugsch claims that the name of the old city Megiddo occurs. If this is true, we must extend the incursion far to the north, and credit Shishak with the attempt to emulate the great invaders of the olden time. The list is instructive, as showing the advance in the development of Palestine since the days of Thothmes III and Ramses II.

named Baasha, who usurped the throne (c. 909–886 B.C.). The successes of the new king encouraged him to attempt to enter Jerusalem, where Abijah's son and successor, Asa (c. 911–871 B.C.), was reigning. The latter took the fateful step of calling in Aramæan aid, and, by so doing, brought about a period of complications and disasters to Israel as a whole, and precursive of great disasters to follow. Ben-hadad I, the son of Tab-Rimmon of Damascus, readily listened to the appeal. In the war that ensued, not only was Jerusalem relieved from its impending siege, but much of the territory on the west of the Upper Jordan and the Lake of Chinnereth was wrested from Israel and incorporated into the realm of Damascus. Thus one of David's subject states became, in less than a century, powerful enough to absorb one of the fragments of his already dismembered empire. The controlling force in the West-land was now no longer Hebrew but Aramæan.

§ 212. The condition of the northern kingdom may be further learned from the succession of conspiracies, murders, usurpations, and proscriptions that followed the death of Baasha, himself an usurper. His dynasty also had but two representatives. His son and successor, Elah, was permitted to reign only a part of two years, and after his dethronement and death total anarchy prevailed. There was need of a strong hand and a new régime, if Israel was to be saved from utter destruction. The needed leader was found in Omri (c. 885–874 B.C.), the general of the army, who was the popular choice from the time of the death of Elah. His accession and undisputed power marks an epoch in the history of divided Israel. His historical importance was due partly to his choice of a suitable place for the capital. The royal residence had been fixed at Tirzah towards the end of the reign of Jeroboam, and there the first four kings had been buried. Omri chose a better site, twelve miles to the west, upon a commanding height that slopes on all sides to a rich valley surrounded by hills (cf. Isa. xxviii. 1), and called it "Sama-

ria," from the name of the owner of the plot of ground where he planted the citadel. This remained the capital till the fall of the monarchy. A further element that helped to make Omri's reign a turning-point in the fortunes of Israel was the fact that both Judah and Ephraim now became aware that this cruel fratricidal war would lead to the destruction of both kingdoms at the hands of the Aramæans of Damascus, and henceforth an alliance of either section with the Syrians against the other was the exception and not the rule. That they were, in reality, not absorbed in detail, was due to the greater power of Assyria, which was to become the common foe and destroyer of all the western states. It was, in truth, a heavy task that was laid upon the dynasty of Omri. The kingdom, though still more powerful than Judah, was reduced to the three tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Issachar, with a portion of Zebulon. East of the Jordan, Ramoth and other cities in Gilead were soon also lost to Israel, and in addition the king of Damascus forced the concession of trading-privileges to his merchants in Samaria (1 K. xx. 34). Yet in other directions Omri succeeded in extending his authority. We learn from the inscription of Mesha that Moab was brought under tribute by him. At home he secured a settled government, and the Assyrians, who were now carefully watching the affairs of Palestine, testified to the character of his administration by regularly designating his country "the house (territory) of Omri" (cf. § 243).

§ 213. His son Ahab (c. 874–853), the second ruler of this third dynasty, introduced a new element of great influence into the life and history of the nation. His policy, which was probably a continuation of that of his father, was chosen with a view to strengthening the kingdom by a profitable foreign alliance, and, at the same time, with the object of bringing Israel into good relations with its neighbours by conforming as much as possible to their religious usages. He took the first step by marrying

the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre, and the second by giving statutory authorization to the formal establishment of the Phœnician cult. This measure was more revolutionary than would at first appear. There had all along been a noxious syncretism of the worship of the old Canaanitish Baal with that of Jehovah; but that was something different from the adoption of the special wholesale abominations which were associated with Phœnician manners and worship. The same deity, nominally, might be worshipped in different localities, while the particular modes, rites, and concomitant practices might show important variations. In Phœnicia, where wealth and luxury had been enjoyed on a scale unknown to either Israel or the Canaanites of the interior, there was a refinement, if one may so speak, and at the same time a prodigality of vicious indulgences, connected with the worship of Baal and Astarte, to which Israel had hitherto been a stranger, and whose promotion under the new auspices has made the name of Jezebel a Biblical synonym for all that is to the last degree impure, cruel, and shameless. As far as the effect of these things upon the physical and political life of the state was concerned there was a vast difference between the experience of an enterprising, energetic community like that of the Phœnician cities, with their world-wide plans and interests, and that of Israel, contracted and simple in its habits and aims. Injurious it was, no doubt, to both, but to the one it was a surface sore on the body politic, while to the other it was like a cancer eating into the vitals, or a head and heart sickness resulting in total decay (Isa. i. 6). To Israel moral deterioration meant political as well as spiritual death. The weal of the nation lay in fidelity to Jehovah alone, and in his pure worship.

§ 214. But the new condition of things brought with it its own antidote and, at the same time, the greatest blessing that was vouchsafed to the ancient world. I mean the ministry of the Prophets. Beginning with indignant

protests against faithlessness and wrong-doing, uttered at court or throughout the land, the Prophets of this era (as distinguished from the ancient seers, who were either "Judges" or political mentors) became distinctively preachers of righteousness, and the organs of a new, clearer, and more practical revelation of God's will to men. The era of written Prophecy, and the publication of the stern, faithful message as a record and testimony for all the ages, had not yet come. But from this time forward the conditions of Prophecy were present, and the essence of prophetic discourse remained hereafter essentially the same. And it is profoundly significant that, just when Israel was about to break through the narrow limits to which it had been confined, and venture all untried upon the vast unknown field of foreign relations and entanglements, there should appear these messengers from Jehovah, telling of the universal truths of his moral government, and of his world-wide sovereignty in the realm of human thought and action.

§ 215. Ahab's foreign policy was forwarded by the maintaining of peaceful relations with the sister kingdom to the south. There the course of events had been much less turbulent and eventful. Asa's reign (§ 211) was further signalized by the repulse of a marauding band of Egyptians and Cushites under Zerah (Egypt. *Osorkon* I), the second king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, whose attempt to repeat the exploits of his predecessor in Palestine was apparently the last foreign enterprise of the failing Libyan régime. Asa's son, Jehoshaphat (c. 871–847), who came to the throne in the fourth year of Ahab, profited by the friendship now existing with Israel so far that, as he apprehended no danger from the north, he was able to bring Edom again under Judæan administration. One main object of the persistent efforts to get possession of Edom was the possibility afforded by such control of securing the trade of the Red Sea, which had been lost to Judah since the days of Solomon. Jehoshaphat's enter-

prises in this direction were, however, unsuccessful, on account of a disaster to his fleet (Sept. "vessel"), which his resources did not allow him to repair. These operations in Edom seem to have been preceded by an invasion of Moabites and Ammonites in league with Edomites, which, however, came to grief on account of a sudden quarrel between the last-named and their two allies. The record (2 Chr. xx.) of such an inroad is noteworthy, because Judah was but rarely attacked from the eastern side (see Ps. lxxxiii. and § 273). Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab against Damascus cost the latter his life, in a great battle waged for the recovery of Ramoth in Gilead, the key-fortress east of Jordan, in which the Israelitish armies were defeated. This event brings us to the midst of the Assyrian relations with Syria and the West-land generally, and it will now be possible to weave into one narrative the history of the action and interaction of the Eastern and Western powers.

Book VI

HEBREWS, ARAMÆANS, AND ASSYRIANS

CHAPTER I

ASSYRIAN ADVANCE INTO THE WEST-LAND

§ 216. In our cursory sketch of Assyrian and Babylonian history (§ 168–181) we had arrived at the tenth century B.C., and had observed that the quiescence and decline of the former monarchy gave opportunity to the Hebrews and Aramæans to found and develop their smaller communities in Palestine and Syria. We now come to the time when interference with these settlements in the West-land became the order of the day with the revived Assyrian monarchy. From the middle of the tenth century B.C. the princes of Assyria were aiming to repair the weakness and exhaustion of the kingdom. The first notable ruler of the new period, who still belongs to the original dynasty that established the independence of Assyria, was Rammān-nirārī II ("Rammān is my help"), who is the first king named in the Eponym Canon, of which we shall have to speak later,[1] and who died 890 B.C. He was the grandson of a second Tiglathpileser, and the son of Asshur-dān I. He kept up a long war with Babylon, which was finally concluded with an honourable and lasting peace. His successor, Tuklat-Adar II, freed from entanglements with Babylon, began to recover the territory

[1] See Note 6 in Appendix.

won by Tiglathpileser I, and after a victorious campaign among the Naïri (§ 179), erected his own statue beside that of the great conqueror, at the source of the Supnat, an upper tributary of the Tigris. He died in 885, after a reign of five years, and was succeeded by the famous Asshurnāṣir-pal ("Asshur protects the son," 885–860 B.C.).

§ 217. The imperial idea wrought in this famous monarch with all its energizing inspiration. His ambition to subjugate and degrade all competing nations, to enrich Assyria with their spoils, and to triumph over them in the name of his gods, was intensified by the thought of the long supineness and obscurity of his country, and its gradual retreat from the frontier in the far west and north which Tiglathpileser I had erected. His determination, vigour, and success were so great that, from this time forward, the advance of the Assyrian arms received no serious check, till the dream of conquest of the fierce warrior-king was fulfilled, two hundred years later. The policy of the kingdom of the Tigris at this period is deserving of special attention, in view of the disclosures of the succeeding history,— all the more so because it is a matter of inference and not of extant documentary statement. The Assyrian annals do not record the motives of the great military enterprises of the kings; they are restricted to a bare recital of facts (cf. § 12). From a perusal of them one might readily assume that the main objects of the innumerable expeditions undertaken eastward, westward, northward, and southward were the accumulation of wealth from the plunder of the conquered tribes and nations, and the holding of them in perpetual vassalage with the like purpose in view. These objects, in relation to the imperial policy as a whole, may be fairly called secondary and incidental. The traditional policy of Assyria, as asserted by Asshurnāṣirpal, may be summarized thus. On the south the great aim was to keep Babylon at least in check, and at all hazards to prevent its encroaching upon the Assyrian borders. On the east,

the tribes which from time immemorial had invaded and colonized Babylonia were to be rendered powerless, either as allies and recruits of the latter, or as direct antagonists. In the northeast and north the energetic and prosperous tribes to the south of and between Lakes Urmia and Van were to be divided and spoiled, so that no consolidation with the Armenian population to the further north should be effected. Hence the Kurds, whose territory stretched from the head-waters of the Tigris eastward to near the upper course of the greater Zab, were the object of persistent attack and spoliation. The other mountain tribes, to the northwest, were chiefly to be feared as possible invaders of the rich Mesopotamian plains to the south. Among these, the inhabitants of the fertile slopes of Mount Masius were singled out as especially dangerous foes, from their proximity to the great caravan station of Nisibis. The Moschi and Tibareni (the *Tubal* of Gen. x. 2), further to the northwest, whose threatened incursions into the West-land had excited the active interference of Tiglath-pileser I (§ 179), were now considered as of little consequence. It is needless to say that the whole Aramæan territory along the ancient routes of trade was to be held absolutely free from outside control or intrigue, and secured as wholly Assyrian. Beyond this, to the west of the Euphrates, and along the coast-land leading to the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Western Arabia, lay the great lines of march which were to be followed persistently till all the peoples of the known world should yield homage and tribute, and all the lesser gods should be dethroned before Asshur and Adar and Ishtar of Nineveh.

§ 218. Asshurnāṣirpal did much directly towards fulfilling these aims and forecasts. The first nine years of his reign were uninterruptedly occupied in the work of invasion and subjugation. His first aim was to repel and prevent the incursions of the marauding tribes of the eastern and northern mountains. The district lying between Nineveh and the southern end of Lake Urmia was

subdued, ravaged, and severely chastised. Several Kurdish tribes to the west and northwest of Lake Van came next under his rod and yoke. His triumphs over the Kurds brought the people of Kommagene to offer homage and tribute. Further advances in this direction were prevented by an inopportune revolt in Suru on the Euphrates,— one of those Mesopotamian cities which the Assyrian rulers had held even during the period of decadence. The outbreak here was quelled with terrible severity, which had the effect of securing the allegiance of the rich principalities between the Balich and the Chaboras. A campaign on the head-waters of the Tigris, near the scene of some of Tiglathpileser's exploits, came next in order. Here an old Assyrian colony on the Supnat River, of the time of Shalmaneser I (§ 175), had rebelled. It was forced to return to its duty, and the surrounding country, with its fertile valleys, was organized into a rich and important Assyrian province. All this was accomplished before the close of his second year. The two following years (883–882) were occupied with the rectification of the eastern frontier and the subjection of the lands on the upper course of the Tornadotos (*Turnat*). The next five years were devoted to the more complete establishment of the Assyrian dominion among the Kurdish tribes, the dwellers on Mount Masius, and especially the refractory or hitherto unsubdued fierce and formidable population of Mesopotamia proper along the Chaboras, and between that stream and the Euphrates. The accomplishment of this end, after a succession of terrible conflicts, marks the close of the first period of his warlike enterprises (877 B.C.).

§ 219. What had thus been secured — the isolation of Babylon, the terrorizing and spoliation of the northern mountain tribes, and the absolute control over Mesopotamia[1] — was much in itself, and indispensable to the

[1] Babylonia's interest in these proceedings is attested by its king, Nabūpaliddin ("Nebo gave a son") having sent a large body of Kasshite

permanence of Assyrian dominion; but it was only the first great step in the aggressive policy of the Assyrian princes. The Euphrates was not only to be held and fortified on both sides; it became also the starting-point of a new advance, the precursor of countless invasions of the West-land and its final incorporation into the empire. The opposition to the renewed victorious march was not nearly so serious or obstinate as that offered by the peoples to the east of the River. From Carchemish, which retained little or nothing of the Hettites but the traditional name, to the slopes of Mount Amanus, where a Hettite population may still have lingered (§ 201, 226), all the tribes of Northern Syria submitted to him, the most of them without a conflict. Thence, descending the western side of Lebanon, he was entitled to perform the significant ceremony of cleansing his weapons in the waters of the Great Sea, which was thus constituted his western boundary. The Phœnician states, after their custom, brought tribute and yielded homage. Southern Syria and Israel remained as yet undisturbed. Their unsettlement and involution in the struggles and vicissitudes of the Assyrian wars were to be accomplished by his successor.

§ 220. Most of the rest of Asshurnāṣirpal's twenty-five years was devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace. We read of only one more warlike expedition, which was undertaken ten years later against some stubborn foes among the Kurds and on Mount Masius. The toughness and unyielding spirit of these peoples show how the Assyrian monarchs had to conquer every foot of the vast territory which they annexed, and how unwillingly the supremacy of the invincible Asshur was conceded. The most notable of the unwarlike actions of Asshurnāṣirpal were the upbuilding and beautifying of Kalach (Nimrud), in the angle formed by the Upper Zab and the Tigris. To this city, founded by the genius of Shalmaneser I (§ 175),

auxiliaries to the assistance of Sūḫu in the Euphrates, in 879. These were defeated with the rest (AN. III, 17 ff.). For the locality, see Par. 297 f.

he transferred the royal residence from Asshur, adorned it with temples and palaces, upreared by the labour of the captives whom he had deported hither from their homes in various portions of the conquered lands. Here the most of his monuments have been found, which now decorate in such profusion the halls of the British Museum. The abundance of these sculptured remains seems to bring the realm and genius of Assyria before us in sudden and complete revelation; and they find much of the needed commentary in the lengthy inscriptions of the vainglorious ruler whose deeds they were designed to commemorate, and to whom they have given an immortality very different from that which he had sought from his guardian deities. His prowess and fortune in war are undeniable, and not less so his zeal and success as a builder of cities, palaces, and temples; but it is not these things that the student of Assyrian history chiefly associates with the name of Asshurnāṣirpal. In these achievements he had not a few rivals on the thrones of Nineveh and Babylon. It was in remorseless cruelty and vindictiveness that he was without an equal in the recorded history of Western Asia. We may make all possible allowances for one whose conduct of war was but an inflexible adherence to the practical logic of the terrible creed that the gods of Assyria claimed all mankind, either as subjects or as victims, and demanded either their homage or their life-blood. But in others we see some traces of human feeling, some relaxation of this terrible code of penal satisfaction. In the annals of Asshurnāṣirpal we look for such things in vain. He dedicates his longest inscription[1] to Adar, "the sun-god as devastator and desolator." And as his god was, so was he himself.

[1] I R. 17–26; one of the longest of the historical cuneiform inscriptions, engraved in three columns on the great pavement slabs (now in the Br. Museum), found at the entrance of the temple of Adar in Nimrud. On the other inscriptions of this monarch, see Tiele, BAG. p. 179; KB. I, p. 52.

§ 221. His son, Shalmaneser II, has more direct interest for us, as it was under his reign that Israel first came to feel directly the shock of the Assyrian arms. His long reign (860–825 B.C.) was synchronous with Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, and Joash of Judah; Ahab, Joram, and Jehu of Israel; Ben-hadad II and Hazael of Damascus; and Mesha of Moab. As a warrior and conqueror he was a worthy successor of his father on the throne of Assyria, even bettering his achievements, and extending more widely the bounds of the empire.[1] He was not so boastful, and perhaps not quite so cruel; but he was fully as good a general, and a better administrator. His father's quelling of the border tribes to the west and north had brought the warlike monarchy to a new stage; henceforth there was little danger of invasion from without, and therefore freer hand was given for aggression outside the accustomed sphere of military operations. Nearly every year of Shalmaneser's reign was signalized by a campaign on a large scale, and for twenty-six years the untiring warrior took the command in person. His marches are easily followed, because, although marked by rapid movements and sudden changes of the scene of action, they were more systematically planned and executed than any yet undertaken by an Asiatic ruler. In accordance with the fixed imperial policy, the West-land was made the favourite region of his military enterprises, but his achievements elsewhere were also important, as well as brilliant. These must be briefly summarized before we consider more particularly what naturally claims our chief attention.

§ 222. Intermittent wars, stretching over twenty-seven years, marked the relations between Assyria and Eastern Armenia, or Ararat (*Urarṭu*). These were carried on by Shalmaneser against two brave and patriotic rulers of this

[1] His chief inscriptions are the annals engraved on the famous black obelisk of Nimrud (cf. § 242); in Lay. 87–98; the so-called Monolith Inscription found at Karkh, near Diarbekr, III R. 7, 8; and the texts engraved on the bronze gates of Balawat (Imgur-Bēl), TSBA. VII, 83 ff.

northern mountain land, with such success that he was not only able to erect a statue of himself at the head-waters of the Tigris, as three of his predecessors had done, but even to penetrate to the source of the Euphrates and there perform the same significant act, which symbolized the control of the whole course of these mighty streams and the lands which they watered. The total results of the numerous engagements with the stubborn defenders of Armenian independence can, however, hardly have been satisfactory, and the last campaign in Shalmaneser's time (833 B.C.) seems to have terminated in an indecisive engagement.

§ 223. A coveted opportunity to secure influence in Babylon was offered to Shalmaneser early in his reign. To understand the situation then, it will be necessary to give a summary review of the leading historic movements that were now affecting Babylonia. After the time of Nebuchadrezzar I (see § 178) the power of Babylonia speedily declined, apparently on account of inner disintegration and the influx of new elements. This declension nearly coincided in point of time with the condition of Assyria after the death of Tiglathpileser I. It would seem that in the brief dynasties that followed that of Nebuchadrezzar, it was not always possible to maintain a native régime, since names of kings, partly, at least, Kasshite, are found in the meagre and imperfect documents relating to the time. Two main movements contributed to undermine the unity and impair the strength of Babylonia. In the northwest, north, and northeast, roving bands of Aramæans had effected something more than a mere pastoral and commercial residence. Though normally opposed by the Assyrians and friendly to Babylonia, they yet accepted no service under the latter, and by occupying the country claimed by it south of the old Assyrian boundary, they came to regard encroachment on their neighbours as a legitimate and matter-of-course proceeding. In the south new nationalities were arising, which were destined

ultimately to absorb the whole. This movement is one of the most important, as it is one of the least understood, of Oriental history. It is to be noted that while the old designations "Shumer and Akkad" (§ 110) were still vaguely employed together for the most of the country from Sippar southward, a new appellation was growing up for South Babylonia, from the beginning of the ninth century B.C. In 879 we first find the term Kaldu used for that geographical division.[1] And it soon appears (from the time of Shalmaneser II onwards) that this region had come to be divided up between a number of tribes, apparently of pure Semitic origin, all of them, as well as their respective territories, distinguished by the prefix *Bīt* (*i.e.* "house, family"). Of these the most important was Bīt-Yākin, of which more will have to be said hereafter. It was the most southerly, lying close about the mouth of the Euphrates. That the Chaldees settled here after the ancient Babylonian period may be inferred partly from the fact of their pure Semitic race, as distinguished from the northern people with their Kasshite and other foreign admixture, and partly from their evident retention, until the period in question, of a separate tribal organization. It is impossible to think of them, in a cultivated country like Babylonia, as having relapsed from a more highly developed centralized form of government into primitive tribalism, each under the headship of its chief; and it may, I think, be taken for granted that they owed their origin to a Semitic immigration. It is natural to look for their homes in the border of the neighbouring desert, whence perhaps (§ 21 f.) Babylonia received its original population. Thus we may learn to trace the continual preservation of the fundamental Semitic stock in the lower region of the Rivers, to a perpetual influx of Aramæans on the North and of Arab-like immigrants from the South.

[1] AN. III, 23 f. A suggestion of the same people is, perhaps, given in "the dynasty of the Sea-Land" which followed that of Nebuchadrezzar I, (§ 178) lasting twenty-one years.

§ 224. The opportunity to interfere in Babylonian affairs came to Shalmaneser in 852 B.C. Nabū-pal-iddin ("Nebo has given a son"), who had intrigued and sent troops against Asshurnāṣirpal during his Mesopotamian war (§ 218), kept on good terms with his son, in accordance with the forms of a special treaty. At his death civil war broke out, in consequence of a rebellion on the part of a younger son against the legitimate heir. The former was defeated and slain by the forces of Shalmaneser, who thereupon ingratiated himself with the people of Babylon by rich offerings in the national temples, and also received the homage of the principalities on the Lower Euphrates (Chaldees), which had revolted against Babylon and were brought to terms by an Assyrian expeditionary force. There can be little doubt that the whole of Babylonia became now, for a time, vassals of Assyria. Shalmaneser also made a conquest, or effected at least a temporary occupation of the land of Parsua,[1] which stretched eastward from Lake Urmia towards the Caspian Sea, and of Amadai (*Madai*, Media), both of them being regions new to Assyrian armies (836 B.C.).

§ 225. More serious, and of greater permanent importance, were his campaigns in Western Mesopotamia and Syria. Some conception of his endeavours to secure for Assyria the whole region west of the Euphrates may be gathered from the fact that he crossed that stream twenty-four times, and has recorded no less than nineteen expeditions to the land of the Hettites. Before dealing with these in any detail, it will be well to revert for a little to the condition of affairs in the West-land, and especially to get as clear a view as possible of the relations of Israel and "Syria" to each other and to the outside world.

§ 226. For the time of Shalmaneser and Ahab the distinction between Middle and Southern Syria may be conveniently maintained. Any clear separation between

[1] Not the same as *Persia*, which was originally a small district south of Elam.

Middle and Northern Syria it is impossible to make, either geographical or political; but we may content ourselves with one formed by a line drawn from Arpad, westward to the mouth of the Orontes (cf. § 125). The greater portion of the population of Middle Syria was thus grouped about Aleppo and Hamath. Between these two localities there stretched east of the mountain ridge a thinly inhabited, sandy plain. The towns on the coast, from Arvad southward to Akko, form, of course, a division by themselves as Phœnician cities. In Middle and Southern Syria the Aramæan settlers had now concentrated themselves into two powerful states, Hamath and Damascus, the latter being by far the most important, a community, indeed, which at the head of a stable confederacy of all the western states might for a time have turned back the tide of Assyrian invasion. At the present juncture it was chiefly occupied in trying to overcome and absorb its neighbours. The northern division seems to have contained a more mixed population, though here also there is no doubt that the Semitic Aramæan was largely preponderant. It was certainly so in Carchemish; while in the more westerly situated kingdom of *Ḫattin*,[1] between the Orontes and the Efrin, some of the names of the cities suggest a Semitic origin. The most of the geographical terms, however, applying to the region northwest to Cilicia (*Ḫilakku*) and northward to Kommagene, are plainly non-Semitic, and it is probable that both here and in Chattin, the Hettites were more or less strongly represented (cf. § 201).

§ 227. The most formidable opposition to Shalmaneser was offered by the two Aramæan states which lay at the extreme ends of Syria, Beth-Eden (*Bīt-Adini*) in the north, mostly on the east of the Euphrates (2 K. xix. 12),

[1] For this country, whose name could also be read Patin, see KGF. p. 214 ff. For the Hettite character of the monarchy may be cited the name of the king subdued by Shalmaneser. *Sapalulmi* is, of course, of the same origin as *Sapalel* (§ 163, cf. Note 5 in Appendix).

and Damascus in the south. The first-named kingdom, small in extent but enriched through its fertility, and still more by its advantageous position for the overland trade, made a prolonged and most heroic defence of its liberties. At first its ruler, Achuni, was enabled to avail himself of the assistance of the principalities lying westward, as far as Cilicia, of which the most important were Carchemish and Chattin. Two combinations thus formed were successively broken, and in Shalmaneser's third year the fortress and capital of Achuni was taken. The intrepid Achuni did not yet yield to defeat, but betook himself to his strongest remaining fortress, on a lofty peak on the Euphrates bank, where, however, he was next year (856 B.C.) himself finally taken and carried in triumph to the city of Asshur.[1] The confederate princes had already submitted themselves the previous year, and yielded a costly tribute.

§ 228. The annexation of Beth-Eden and the subjection of the allied states left the way clear for an advance upon Southern Syria. This was made in 854 B.C., the sixth year of Shalmaneser. The account which the Assyrian annalist gives of the expedition is extremely valuable, throwing light upon the reciprocal relations of Israel and Syria, and, in fact, upon the political condition of Syria and Palestine generally. It will be well to let Shalmaneser tell the story of the whole expedition in his own words:[2] —

"In the eponymate of Dayan-Asshur (854 B.C.), in the month Ayru (May) the fourteenth day, I set forth from Nineveh, crossed the River Tigris, and approached the towns of Giammu on the River Balich. These were seized with fear because of the awe of my majesty and the terror of my puissant arms, and they slew Giammu their liege lord with their own weapons. I occupied Kitlala and Til-ša-pal-aḫi. I installed my own gods in his temples, and in his palaces celebrated a sacred feast. I opened his

[1] Mon. 29–75; Obel. 26–49.

[2] Mon. (III R. 8), 78 ff.

storehouse, beheld his treasure, carried away his goods and chattels as spoil, and transported them to my own city of Asshur. From Kitlala I set forth and drew near to Fort Shalmaneser. In boats of sheep-skin I crossed for the second time the River Euphrates at its flood. The tribute of the kings on the further side of the Euphrates: of Shangar of Carchemish, of Kundashpi of Kommagene, of Arami son of Gusi, of Lalli of Milid, of Chayani son of Gabari, of Kalparuda of Chattin, of Kalparuda of Gamgum: silver, gold, lead, copper, copper vessels, I received in Asshur-utīr-aṣbat on the further side of the Euphrates, in the city Shagur, which the people of the Hettite country call Pitru (Pethor). I set forth from the River Euphrates and drew near to Chalman (Aleppo). They feared to do battle with me and embraced my feet. I received gold and silver from them as tribute, and offered sacrifice to Rammān of Aleppo. I set forth from Aleppo and drew on to the cities of Irchulini, of the land of Hamath. I took Adinnu, Mashga, and his royal city Argana. I set forth from Argana and arrived at Ḳarḳar. Ḳarḳar, his royal city, I razed and destroyed and burned with fire. Twelve hundred chariots, 1200 cavalry, 20,000 soldiers of *Dadda-idri* (Hadadezer) of the land of Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 soldiers of Irchulini of the land of Hamath; 2000 chariots, 10,000 soldiers of *A-ḫa-ab-bu* (Ahab) of the land of *Sir-'a-la-ai* (Israel); 500 soldiers of the land of Ḳue; 1000 soldiers of the land of Muṣri; 10 chariots and 10,000 soldiers of the land of Irḳanati; 200 soldiers of Matinu-ba'al of the land of Arvad; 200 soldiers of the land of Usanat; 30 chariots, 10,000 soldiers of Adunu-ba'al of the land of Shian; 1000 camels of Gindibu'u,[1] of the land of Arabia, . . . 1000 soldiers of Ba'asha the son of Ruchub, of the land of Ammon (*A-ma-na-ai*) — these twelve [eleven]

[1] That is modern Arabic *ǵundubu*, *ǵundabu*, and *ǵindabu*, "a desert locust." The name is interesting (1) as illustrating the animal totem influence among the most ancient Arabs known to us, and (2) as showing the persistency of Arabic sounds till the present day.

kings he took to himself as auxiliaries, and they marched against me to fight me in battle. With the magnificent troops which the lord Asshur gave me, and the powerful weapons which Nergal my leader had granted to me, I fought with them; from Ḳarḳar to Gilza I accomplished their rout; 14,000 of their fighting men I laid low with my weapons. Upon them like Rammān (the thunder-god) I poured down a flood; their corpses I strewed about, filled the surface of the plain with their multitudinous troops; made their blood stream down with my weapons."

§ 229. From the few remaining lines, which it is impossible to translate fully on account of the obscure words which they contain, we learn that Ḳarḳar, where this noted battle was fought, lay close to the river Orontes. The king also states that he captured the chariots and horses of the allies with their riders. Another briefer account[1] tells that he slew 20,500 fighting men. Still another inscription[2] tells that the number put *hors du combat* was 25,000.

§ 230. This campaign, which opens a new era in the history of both East and West, is worthy of more than a passing notice. It is first to be observed that Shalmaneser, by striking out a new path for himself and appearing in Syria proper, roused all the Western communities to a state of apprehension, and some of them to immediate action. He was the first Assyrian monarch who had ventured within the territory claimed by Aramæans and Hebrews as peculiarly their own. His direct march from Aleppo to Hamath showed plainly his ultimate purpose of spoiling or subjugating the whole of the coast-land. The constituents of the confederate forces are also noteworthy. They may be divided into four main sections: the northern, western, central, and southern. From the north we find small detachments from Ḳue (Eastern Cilicia) and Muṣri (in Western Cappadocia). These principalities, the former of which, at least, is mentioned

[1] Obel. 54–66. [2] Lay. 46, 1–9.

in the Old Testament,[1] had apparently so far not yielded themselves as Assyrian vassals, and with the vain hope that the terrible invader might be crushed in his present adventure, and that they might thus be spared in coming years, they hung upon the rear of Shalmaneser until the allies concentrated their forces in the neighbourhood of Ḳarḳar. The second section consisted of the more northerly Phœnician cities, whose inhabitants could not afford such a heavy tribute as that paid by Tyre and Sidon, and who perhaps dreaded lest their ports should be occupied and utilized by the Assyrians for the Mediterranean trade. The central and main sections were Hamath, Damascus, and Israel, who together furnished much more than half of the whole army of defence, and almost all of the chariots and horsemen. The last division comprised detachments of Ammonites and Arabs. The territory of the former adjoined that of Damascus, since the latter had expelled Israel from its possessions east of the Jordan, and as a warlike and independent race, they were anxious to secure themselves against future surprises. The "camels" of the Arabian Gindibu were perhaps mercenary troops, hired for the sake of a better commissariat, since the Bedawin, even if belonging to a half-cultivated border region, would not have been likely of their own motion to take the offensive against a power like the Assyrians. The immediate aim of this confederation was, it will be remembered, the relief of Hamath, nor does it appear that the Assyrian monarch had intended or expected to deal seriously with the much greater realm of Damascus during this campaign. How the result of the battle may have affected his designs we cannot tell. His losses, which of course he does not report, must have been considerable, and Hamath, at least, was not actually taken till a subsequent invasion. He did not return to the West till

[1] 1 K. x. 28; 1 Chr. x. 16, where מִקְוֵה should be translated "from Ḳue." Cf. Sept. and Vulg. and see Lenormant, *Origin de l'histoire*, vol. ii, Part 2, p. 6; Tomkins, in *Pal. Expl. Quart.*, April, 1885.

five years later, his attention being absorbed by the affairs of the North and East.

§ 231. What light do these reports from the inscriptions shed upon the Bible story? How shall we adjust to one another the two narrations? The first difficulty that strikes one is that the relations between Israel and Damascus were usually very unfriendly, and a close alliance between them would seem hard to account for. We must, however, at the outset, remark that the sacred writer does not professedly give a complete account of Ahab's military and political career, but only brings out those incidents in his history which were connected with the fortunes of the religion of Jehovah and its ministers, the Prophets. Still, the Bible does give at least a hint of a conjunction in the fortunes of Ahab and Ben-hadad, which afforded the conditions of an alliance between the two monarchs if both parties should find it expedient or urgent. And after the series of quarrels and battles between them, the great advantage of such a league was rendered suddenly apparent. The approaching army of the terrible Assyrian created in the minds of the western kings and chieftains a sense of the need of a confederation, and of burying, at least for a time, all sense of reciprocal injury. So a combination of Israel with the other leading powers, Damascus and Hamath, may be explained, and Ahab must the more readily have attached himself to the league, since so many of the neighbouring tribes swarmed with their contingents to the defence of the threatened territory. Now there is one passage in the Scripture history of these times which indicates a period in the reign of Ahab that may fit in with the narrative of the inscriptions. This is 1 K. xx., which describes the unexpected defeat of the Syrians by the Israelites at Aphek, with the improved relations following it. Verse 34 informs us of a solemn convention between Ahab and Ben-hadad, according to which the former was entitled to hold a special market in Damascus, besides securing the cities which had been captured by the

Syrians from Omri. No other situation that we know of in the affairs of Israel in the lifetime of Ahab furnishes suitable conditions. In 1 K. xxii., we are told that, after a three years' peace, hostilities broke out afresh between Syria and Israel, provoked by Ahab with his ally Jehoshaphat. The former fell at Ramoth-gilead, leaving the field and the disputed territory to his old adversary. Now, if the above combination is correct, as the battle of Ḳarḳar is fixed by Shalmaneser himself at 854 B.C., the death of Ahab would have to be set between that date and 851, three years later. It should be added that Israel is not alluded to in the account given of the next two expeditions of Shalmaneser against the Syrians, though a further league between Ben-hadad and the king of Hamath with minor neighbouring states is mentioned, and we may infer that Israel did not participate in the defence. In fact, we know from the Bible history (see 2 K. vi. 8, 24) that Israel, under Joram, was again in its normal condition of war with Damascus, and also engaged with its rebellious vassal, Moab.

§ 232. No serious attempt has been made to discredit the Assyrian report of this campaign in its essential features, though objections, based on mere ignorance and a general prejudice against the historical value of the inscriptions, have been brought forward against taking *Aḫabbu Sir'alai* to represent Ahab of *Israel*. These have been thoroughly disposed of by Schrader,[1] and are not now repeated. Nor is the essential accuracy of the Bible account of Ahab's military undertakings impugned. The only controversy of any significance relates to the period in Ahab's reign in which the battle of Ḳarḳar in 854 B.C. ought to fall. The theory given above is the one usually adopted, but it has some earnest opponents. Chief among

[1] KGF. p. 359–364. I take this opportunity of reminding my readers of the eminent services rendered by Professor Schrader to the cause of historical truth in this work, which is principally devoted to refuting superficial attacks upon the results of the decipherment of the Inscriptions.

these is Wellhausen,[1] who thinks that Syria must have held a sort of suzerainty over Israel, since Israel was all along the feebler state, and subordinate to Syria till the troubles of the latter with Assyria so weakened it that Israel was enabled to contend with it on equal terms. Israel, therefore, furnished its contingent because it was compelled to, but the defeat of the league gave it the opportunity it coveted of asserting its independence. The subjection of Israel to Damascus would then be coincident with the loss of the cities (including the adjacent territory) in the time of Omri, which is alluded to in 1 K. xx. 34. Wellhausen's theory, accordingly, is that the events in question must be put earlier in Ahab's reign, before his recorded wars with Syria.

§ 233. The hypothesis is acute and plausible. Of decisive evidence there is, of course, none on either side, but the probabilities are against Wellhausen's assumption. In the first place, there is no evidence, direct or indirect, that Israel was, properly speaking, a vassal of Damascus. The latter was, no doubt, much the more powerful state of the two, especially before the Assyrian invasions began to tell, and Omri's loss of territory, along with his concession of free trade in Samaria, implies either defeat in war or a voluntary propitiation of a dangerous superior. But this is, in either case, something quite different from the obligation to follow the superior in his foreign wars, especially when it is observed that the contingent furnished by Ahab was about as powerful as that provided by the supposed liege Ben-hadad, and in the most formidable portion of the array actually twice as strong. Indeed, Ahab, strengthened by the Phœnician alliance, and maintaining as he did the dominion acquired by his father over Moab, was evidently an ambitious ruler aspiring to a position of predominance. Again, the assumption that

[1] *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, XX, p. 27; Art. "Israel" in Encycl. Brit., § 4 (*Skizzen*, etc. I, 31). Cf. Stade, GVI. 528 f. On the other side, see especially KGF. 367 ff.

two powers which were habitually in hostilities would not be likely to combine for common defence against a foe who seemed likely to destroy them both in detail is very improbable. We gather from several incidents in the Bible narrative that the rivalry between Israel and Damascus, which, after all, was only in consonance with the order of things in Western Asia in those days, was not so bitter or determined as to prevent an occasional interchange of courtesies, in spite of the standing cause of quarrel afforded by the Syrian occupation of Gilead, and the constant irritating raids across the border (2 K. v. 2, cf. vi. 23). And so the *rapprochement* described in 1 K. xx., with the three years' peace that followed, must have made possible not only passive friendship, but ready co-operation against a common foe.[1] Finally, Wellhausen's theory includes the assumption that it was the Assyrian invasion of 854 B.C., and its results, which "made the situation clear" to Ahab, and suggested to him the propriety of revolt against Syria. But a study of Shalmaneser's reports shows that nothing could have been made clear to Ahab thereby except the military superiority of Assyria. And Damascus was not in particular so weakened by the battle as to invite attack from an inferior foe. On all accounts, therefore, it is better to make the battle of Ḳarḳar coincident with the first truce in the "fifty years' war" between Damascus and Israel than to make it antedate the outbreak of hostilities.

§ 234. The importance of the matter under present discussion lies not simply in the necessity of getting a clear idea of the course of Israel's fortunes. The correct solution of the problem would also afford us a sure basis for chronological calculation, the first certain synchronism in the history of the monarchies of Western Asia, and, indeed, in the history of the world generally. Can the

[1] This frequent change of reciprocal attitude between neighbouring countries in Western Asia was, no doubt, favoured by the custom of ceasing hostilities during the winter season (2 S. xi. 1; 1 Chr. xx. 1).

exact date be fixed? It may with great probability. The death of Ahab took place, according to the modern notation, two years (in the third year) after the peace of Aphek (1 K. xxii. 1 f.). The latter event probably took place in the year before the campaign against the Assyrians, and would therefore have to be set at 855 B.C. Thus the end of Ahab's reign would fall in 853 B.C. Up to the time of Solomon we had been obliged to use round numbers for dates, but counting back from the year thus ascertained it has been possible to get approximate figures for the intervening events; and, from this time onward, with the help of the original autograph indications of the Assyrian records,[1] it will be within our power to time most of the principal occurrences still more exactly.

[1] See Note 6 in Appendix.

CHAPTER II

ISRAEL AND THE CONFLICTS OF ASSYRIA AND DAMASCUS

§ 235. THE Assyrian invasion of 854 B.C. had left the relative positions of the Western powers unchanged. It was the fateful battle of Ramoth-Gilead which soon after turned the scale decisively against Israel (§ 215). The successors of Ahab were still less able than he to realize the ideal conceived in the ambitious mind of Omri. Ahaziah, his son, reigned but two years or less (853–852). Jehoram, or Joram (853–842), the brother of Ahaziah, was the last ruler of the line. He had been acting as regent during the illness of Ahaziah. He continued throughout the policy of friendship and alliance with Judah, of which a main object had been to make head against the encroachments of Damascus. A few years later, Jehoshaphat of Judah was succeeded by his son Jehoram (849–842). The identity of the names ("*Yahwè* is exalted") is an indication that the same outward reverence for Jehovah's worship animated both kingly houses. Now the two families were still further assimilated by intermarriage, Jehoram of Judah making Athaliah, the sister of his northern namesake, his queen, — a step which shows, among other tokens, how little distasteful to the court of Judah were the characteristic worship and practices of the house of Ahab. The attempt to recapture Ramoth had been the supreme military effort of the Israelitish combination; and, though its failure did not dissolve the alliance, it proved the superiority of Damascus to the two confederates combined. It also brought about further loss to Israel. Moab, which

had been tributary to North Israel under Omri, and which, according to the Stone of King Mesha,[1] had succeeded in recovering some of its territory during the reign of Ahab, was now encouraged to break out into open revolt. While Jehoshaphat was still alive, Joram of Israel undertook to recover the lost possessions and punish his rebellious vassal. Summoning Jehoshaphat to his aid, who, in his turn, secured the co-operation of the subject Edomites, they dexterously attacked Moab from the south, after encompassing the Dead Sea. The allies were at first successful, and inflicted a defeat upon Mesha so terrible that the wrath of his god Chemosh could only be appeased by the sacrifice of his own son. The Hebrew record which furnishes us with these details (2 K. iii.) does not add particulars of the subsequent events of the campaign, except to say that, on account of the supposed wrath of Chemosh against Israel, the invaders withdrew from the country (v. 27); in other words, failed to bring back Moab to its allegiance. Mesha himself relates to posterity how he rebuilt several cities which had been laid waste during the Israelitish suzerainty, and how he took by storm, with the customary slaughter of the inhabitants, the two cities of Aṭaroth and Nebo, which were garrisoned by Gadites of Israel.[2]

§ 236. In the reign of Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram, the brother-in-law of Joram of Israel (§ 235), the control of Edom was lost to Judah, after an abortive attempt had been made by the Judaic viceroy (about 852 B.C.) to re-establish Solomon's trade by the Red Sea (1 K. xxii. 48). Thus, in spite of the alliance and affiliation of the princes of the northern and southern kingdoms, their reigns were marked by political decline. Yet Joram of Israel was a valiant defender of his realm and dynasty against Aramæan aggression. His ejection from the Moabitish

[1] Lines 6 ff.

[2] *Stone of Mesha*, l. 9 ff. On the difficulty of reconciling the Moabite and Biblical account, see Professor Davis in *Hebraica*, April, 1891, p. 178 ff.

border did not deter him from carrying out the traditional policy of his house with regard to the Israelitish territory beyond the Jordan, and he continued till the end of his reign to keep up an army before Ramoth-Gilead. How desperate were his case and his efforts we may gather from the fact that, while defending the frontiers of his kingdom on the east, repeated disasters befell his arms at home, and he had to submit to a prolonged siege, with all its accompanying horrors, in his own capital, at the hands of the Syrians under Ben-hadad II, from which he was only delivered through a groundless panic in the camp of the besiegers (2 K. vi., vii.).[1] And Ramoth itself, that coveted landmark of Israel's ancient dominion over rich and populous Gilead, became an instrument of fate once more against the doomed and failing house of Ahab. Joram being wounded in battle against Ben-hadad's successor, Hazael (§ 241), his general, Jehu, who had been twice anointed as the future king and the divinely appointed supplanter of the patriotic but religiously disloyal dynasty of Omri, being left in charge of the blockade[2] of that fortress, revolted and hastened to Samaria with blood-thirsty zeal against his lord and all his court and retainers. Ahaziah, the son of Jehoram of Judah, had just come to the throne (842), and hastened to put himself and his army at the disposal of his uncle Joram, in pursuance of the established policy. He found him at his summer palace at Jezreel, where he was seeking repose and healing for his wounds. Here the two kings were surprised by the furious onset of Jehu, by whose hand Joram met immediate death. Ahaziah's flight was soon interrupted by a still more dastardly stroke at the order of the usurper. The first event of international importance following the revolt was the necessary result of the defection of Jehu and his desertion of the post of duty. The siege of that

[1] See Note 5 in Appendix.

[2] The word "kept," in E. V. of 2 K. ix. 14, should be replaced by "besieged," literally "watched"; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 16 and Isa. i. 8.

stronghold was raised, and the country east of the Jordan was soon wholly occupied by the Aramæans (2 K. x. 32 f.), under another predestined usurper, the no less truculent but more fortunate Hazael.

§ 237. The reader of the Bible narrative must at first find it difficult to understand how the kings of Israel, crippled as they were by loss of territory and population, exposed continually to invasion from the northeastern side, and actually brought more than once to the verge of national extinction, were yet able to keep an army in the field to the east of the Jordan, and lay siege repeatedly to a great fortress lying in what was then an enemy's country. Here again the monuments of Nineveh give us welcome aid. They show us that not only during the latter part of the reign of Ahab, but twice also during the reign of Joram, the Syrians were called to put themselves in defence against the most terrible of their foes. Shalmaneser, in his inscription on the Black Obelisk, tells us briefly of his incursions into the West-land. During the three years immediately following the battle of Ḳarḳar he was busied with affairs on the Northern Tigris, and especially in Babylonia, where, by the way, he came into contact with the Chaldæans (*Kaldē*), who were forced to the sea-shore by the terror of his arms, and became his tributaries.[1] In 850 he crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time, but confined himself in this region to reducing the cities dependent on Carchemish. The next year (849) found him again west of the Euphrates, in the "land of the Hettites." The country about Hamath was once more laid waste, and again a combination of "twelve kings of the Hettite country," with Ben-hadad at their head, opposed him, and were defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. This was in the eleventh year of Shalmaneser.[2] Two years later (846 B.C.) he made an expedition to Syria, which had much the same character and result as that of 849.[3]

[1] Obel. 83 f. [2] Obel. 87 ff. [3] Obel. 91 f.

§ 238. The records of these invasions help us to complete the picture of the political situation in Palestine and Syria in the middle of the ninth century B.C. They show us how it was that the wars between Israel, alone or in alliance with Judah, and Damascus, fierce and frequent as they were, still were not continuous; and they explain to us how Israel was still able to maintain itself and escape what seemed imminent annihilation at the hands of Damascus while the latter was distracted with these Assyrian wars. We do not learn, however, if any part was taken by Israel in opposing Shalmaneser. Such action on the part of Joram, in spite of his normal attitude towards Damascus, is improbable from his military weakness. Yet it was not in such times impossible, as we learn from the example of Ahab. Direct evidence on the point we do not have. Shalmaneser speaks of the "dozen kings" who opposed him, in his report both with regard to the campaign of 849 and to that of 846. But this is manifestly a round number, and it is hardly to be supposed that exactly the same combination was formed on these occasions as in 854. The question, interesting and important as it is, will have to remain, in the meanwhile, undecided.

§ 239. The tragic end of Joram brings us to the close of a memorable period in the history of the northern kingdom, — a period marked by a more intense life among the leaders of the people than was manifested there before or after. In the political sphere we can see how dreams of a potent monarchy arose in the mind of Omri, the founder of Samaria, and the creator of Samarian history; how he extended his dominion to the east of the Jordan; and how the Aramæan power to the northeast, rising more quickly than his own, curbed his ambition, crippled his strength, and lowered his prestige. We see how his son Ahab widened the scope of national relations, secured powerful alliances, and, under the influence of the Tyrian queen, bartered the hope and defence of Israel for the glamour and pageantry of a sensual and deteriorating worship; and how

he, under the same malign working, corrupted the simplicity of the national manners, and even outraged the rights of an Israelitish freeholder (1 K. xxi.). We can see the results of the offensive and defensive alliance with Judah, which was a characteristic feature of this period, and mark its first great disaster in the battle that cost Ahab his life. We can follow the varying fortunes of the Syrian wars through the reigns of his short-lived sons; and in its chequered progress we can note how Damascus gains steadily upon the Hebrew monarchies, its progress being, however, materially impeded by two sorts of checks; namely, unexpected deliverances granted to Israel, and invasions of both Northern and Southern Syria by the Assyrians. In the religious and ethical sphere we see above all, in the personal agency and manifold activity of Elijah and Elisha, the beginnings of the great prophetic movement, which was not only intended to counteract the spiritual and moral degeneracy of the nation, but also, through the faithful remnant in the true Israel, to leaven all mankind with truth and grace. Moreover, we see how, at their instigation, the cruel and rapacious wars between Israel and the Aramæans were mitigated by several rare instances of generosity and forbearance, so that their ministry of reform and purification was also symbolical of a new era of peace and concord between the nations, which the literary Prophets of a later day were more amply to illustrate.

§ 240. The death of the last of the family of Omri marks a decisive turning-point in the history of the northern kingdom. A change of dynasty effected by such violent means as those employed by Jehu must needs give a moral and material shock to a small compact state like that which depended for its preservation mainly upon the defensibility of the fortress of Samaria. Jehu's mission was to extirpate the worship of the Canaanitic Baal. His remorseless fierceness and impetuosity bore him well through the slaughter of Joram and his family and of the

idolatrous priesthood. But the task of governing the kingdom thus usurped, and of defending it from eager and superior foes, was one to which he was utterly unequal. He failed to conciliate the adherents of his predecessor, and so far was he from reconciling the people at large to his rule, that three generations later his acts of bloodshed were still cited for reprobation (Hos. i. 4). In his foreign relations he, as we shall see presently, lowered the standard of Israelitish patriotism, and gave a lien upon his country to a rapacious power, which never failed to take advantage of the smallest concession from any community, great or small. In other words, Jehu took the fatal step, at the very beginning of his reign, of making a league with Assyria.

§ 241. This momentous transaction, not recorded in the Hebrew annals, but preserved for us in the cuneiform records, was, of course, closely connected with Syrian affairs. Very shortly before the revolt of Jehu, a usurper came also to the throne of Damascus, and that with the cognizance, if not with the direct approval, of the head of the reforming party in Israel (cf. 1 K. xix. 15 and 2 K. viii. 13). The treachery and regicide in Damascus, which had set an example so speedily emulated in Israel (2 K. viii., ix.), resulted in the death of the valiant old warrior Ben-hadad II (2 K. viii. 15), who for many years had maintained his city and country at the head of all the Syrian principalities. His murderer and successor, Hazael, was even more terrible in war, and apparently devoid of the milder qualities which adorned the character of his renowned victim. His warlike and courageous temper was shown even by his eagerness to take the supreme control at a time so critical for the nations of the west. He had seen one after another of the rulers of Northern Syria forced to acknowledge the headship of Shalmaneser, or surrender their kingdom and their lives. He had witnessed Aleppo and Hamath devastated, and the latter, not long before the head of the Aramæan communities,

almost annihilated, and Damascus itself left with hereditary foes to the south and west, and the armies of the invincible Assyrians about to descend upon it from the north. The first onset of the latter he was immediately summoned to meet.

§ 242. Since 846 B.C. (see § 237) Shalmaneser had visited Northern Syria once — namely, in 843 — to cut cedars from Mount Amanus.[1] Next year he marched directly against Damascus. The armies met near Mount Senir,[2] at the northern end of Hermon, where Hazael took his stand without a single ally. According to Shalmaneser's own accounts,[3] Hazael met with a terrible defeat, losing 16,000 men, 1121 chariots, 470 horse, and his camp. Still, Damascus was not yet taken; the Assyrian monarch had to content himself with cutting down Hazael's parks and gardens outside the wall, and laying waste the Hauran. In another expedition, three years later,[4] he inflicted a final defeat upon Hazael, according to his own story; but it was much more likely a drawn battle. At best, the alleged victory resulted in no permanent advantage to the Assyrians. The former of these two expeditions, that of 842 B.C., is of special interest to us in our present business. After describing his defeat of Hazael, and the ravaging of the adjacent territory, Shalmaneser relates that he marched to the sea-coast, and received the tribute of Tyre and Sidon, and, lastly, of "Jehu, son of Omri."[5] This statement, which occurs in the fragment just cited, is shown to refer to Jehu, king of Israel, by the fact that on the famous Black Obelisk already frequently quoted, containing the condensed annals of Shalmaneser, there is found a sculptured representation of ambassadors bearing gifts and presenting them to the Assyrian king, accompanied by an

[1] Obel. 96.

[2] Assyr. *Saniru*. Cf. Sept. Σανιρ. Notice the perpetuation of the Amoritic name (Deut. iii. 9).

[3] Obel. 97 ff., and especially the fragment III R. 5 Nr. 6.

[4] Obel. 102 ff.

[5] *Ya-u-a apal Ḫu-um-ri.*

inscription beginning with the words: "tribute of Jehu, son of Omri."[1]

§ 243. These references are interesting and important from several points of view. As to the form of expression "son of Omri," it is to be noticed that while the term *Sir'alai*, "Israelite," used of Ahab, occurs but once in the recovered inscriptions, the phrase "Beth Omri" is the standing designation for the kingdom of Israel[2] (§ 212). As to Jehu himself, the notice of the Assyrian king sets the cruel and imperious usurper and reformer before us in a new light, that of a fawning suppliant. His name is coupled in the list of tributaries with those of the rulers of subject nations; but we have no evidence that he was subdued by the Assyrians. In 839 B.C., when Shalmaneser had his second great encounter with Hazael, and Tyre and Sidon sent costly gifts to the conqueror, Jehu for the second time may have done the same, still cherishing the hope of securing in the Great King an ally who would crush Syria and spare and protect Israel. How fallacious, in any case, that expectation was, may be learned from the Biblical narrative, properly understood by the help of the Assyrian annals. The summary statement of 2 K. x. 32 f. (cf. § 236) tells us that Hazael smote Israel in all its borders, and particularizes his complete occupation of all the country east of Jordan as far south as the valley of the Arnon, which had never been in any sense subject to Israel; and we may infer from a later passage (2 K. xii. 17) that the western borders were also seriously encroached upon. In fact, his march upon the Philistines there alluded to must have been made through the valley of Jezreel, so that we must think of the northern kingdom as being confined to the hill country of Ephraim and the territory about Samaria. This state of things is explained by the fact that, after the expedition of 839, the Assyrians did

[1] *ma-da-tu ša Ya-u-a apal Ḫu-um-ri-i* (Lay. 98, 2).

[2] Cf. the name of the kingdom in Northern Syria, *Bīt Adini* (§ 227).

not appear again in Syria proper. At the time of the double usurpation of Jehu and Hazael, Shalmaneser was just at the middle of his reign, and for the last fifteen years of his life he seems to have renounced the hope of bringing the West-land under Assyrian control. Two main motives must have determined him. He found it necessary to conserve and consolidate his empire before seeking further to extend its borders. Affairs nearer home required constant attention, and by reason of the continual urgency of discontented tribes, who demurred to the supremacy of the Assyrian gods, his best troops were in constant requisition away from the new battle-ground on the Mediterranean coast. The utmost that could be done west of the River was to confirm his conquests in Northern Syria and Cilicia. This was accomplished by expeditions made in 835, 834,[1] and 832 B.C., the last-named being conducted by his general-in-chief. Another reason for his quitting this field of action was, doubtless, the prowess and strength of Damascus. In spite of the claims of victory made by the Assyrian invader in his annals, it is certain that his losses were very great, and that his successes did not lead, as elsewhere, to control of new territory or permanent increase of revenue; and it is quite possible that, after the engagement of 839, he found it advisable to evacuate the Syrian territory. Such freedom from molestation, which Hazael doubtless regarded as a triumph for Syria, was, as we have seen, utilized fully by that ambitious monarch, who thus brought his kingdom to a height of power and influence never before or after reached by an Aramæan community. Not only was the ancient and beautiful capital of the kings of Damascus retained, in spite of defeat after defeat and the loss of one ally after another, but Hazael, who, like his predecessor, had never once submitted to Shalmaneser, was soon able to reclaim the Hauran, to secure Bashan and

[1] The expedition of 834 is notable for the conquest of Tarsus in Cilicia. It appears under the form *Tar-zi* (Obel. 138). See KGF. 241

Gilead, to encroach upon Moab, to almost annihilate Israel, to destroy one of the great cities of the Philistines,[1] to range freely over the whole of Judah, and to dictate to Jerusalem itself the most humiliating terms of submission, receiving from the terrified king Jehoash the richest spoil of his palace and temple.

§ 244. The calamities which the aggression of Damascus, after its reprieve and rehabilitation, brought upon Israel are indicated or, rather, faintly suggested, by the sacred annalist; but we are not left to the narrative alone for a picture of the desolation and ruin that were wrought. We can listen to the voice of Prophecy, which now emerges in the drama of Israel's history, to reveal the momentous issues of the action, to express the essential pathos of the tragedy, and to enforce the moral of every new event. Two brief passages give us an indispensable supplement to the historical statements of fact; the one describing the memorable scene where Elisha predicts to Hazael, just before his accession to the blood-stained throne, the misery and suffering which he is to bring upon Israel (2 K. viii. 12), and the other, two generations later, containing a vivid reminiscence of the horrors of the time, from the pen of one of the first of the literary Prophets (Amos i. 3–5).

§ 245. Such was the inglorious ending of the reign of Jehu. His propitiation of the Assyrians had profited him nothing, but had rendered him, as their ally, more odious in the eyes of Hazael, who, now that danger from the common foe of all the independent western peoples seemed to be past, visited with remorseless vengeance those nations which had once joined the league for mutual protection and had then left Damascus to fight the battle alone. Jehoahaz (815–799 B.C.), the son of Jehu, succeeded to the broken fortunes and hopeless cause of his father, and during the greater part of his reign was compelled to accept from Hazael and his son, Ben-hadad III, the hardest

[1] For the taking of Gath and the invasion of Judah, see 2 K. xii. 17 f.; 2 Chr. xxiv. 23 f.

conditions yet imposed upon any king of Israel. The sacred historian, who, after the fashion of Biblical narrators, characterizes a whole period by citing a concrete instance or two as indicative and representative, tells us how "there had been left to Jehoahaz of the people only fifty horsemen and ten chariots and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria had made them to be trodden down like dust"[1] (2 K. xiii. 7). This picture becomes most telling when we compare the condition of Israel, as related to Damascus, with what we learned from Shalmaneser's report of the battle of Ḳarḳar, about forty years before the accession of Jehoahaz. During Ahab's reign Israel was scarcely the equal of Damascus, and yet it could put into the field for the defence of the West-land two thousand chariots. That its force was reduced to the mere nominal figure of ten chariots and fifty horsemen does not mean that the resources of the country and its military spirit had really come to the vanishing-point. What the comparison proves is that Syria had finally made the northern kingdom its vassal, and to render it incapable of further harm had deprived it of the most effective means of carrying on an offensive campaign.

§ 246. But relief came when it was least expected, and when it seemed that at last Israel could lift up its head no more among the nations, and that Damascus was to realize its aim of bringing the whole of Palestine into subjection. The means of deliverance are indicated in the Biblical narrative only in a very indefinite way, but the Assyrian annals once more furnish us with the desired illumination. The passage in question, which immediately precedes the verses just quoted, reads as follows: "And Jehoahaz entreated Jehovah, and Jehovah listened to him, for he saw the oppression of Israel, for the king of Syria had pressed him sore; and Jehovah gave to Israel a deliverer

[1] In order to bring out the connection clearly, and to indicate the order of events, it is necessary to translate with the pluperfect, which is, in fact, a direct continuation of the same construction in v. 4.

and they came out from under the power of Syria, and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents (*i.e.* in their own houses) as in the days of yore." It will be seen that the name of the deliverer by whose interference Israel was redeemed from its humiliating servitude is not mentioned. In fact, the whole manner of presentation, so different from the particularity of statement characteristic of the Bible narratives, suggests a personage lying beyond the ordinary range of Israelitish association, and perhaps unknown by name to the sacred writer. The fact seems to be that it was a contemporary king of Assyria. Another brief glance at the history of that country must now be made.

§ 247. Our sketch of the military activity of Shalmaneser II showed plainly that that monarch, enterprising and ambitious as he was, and eager to extend the sway of Asshur to the limits of southwestern Asia, yet found it impossible to secure any permanent footing beyond Central, or even Northern, Syria. His successor, *Šamši-Rammān* IV ("Ramman is my sun," 825–812 B.C.), found that the half-subjugated provinces bequeathed to him by his father constituted a legacy so uncertain and divided that its adjustment and administration left him but little opportunity for outside conquests. Shalmaneser had, in fact, undertaken to do too much, nor was the political system of Assyria as yet sufficiently developed to justify the vast enterprises which the ambitious conquerors of the time so persistently entered upon. The old warrior had been, in fact, unable to keep his empire well in hand in his later years. The conduct of his campaigns was left to his commander-in-chief, who apparently was getting so much power in his hands that a revolt on the part of Shalmaneser's eldest son found many abettors among the discontented people, to whom a firm government was the prime condition of social prosperity, as well as their first political postulate. The closing period of the old king's reign was thus so embittered by domestic strife that the last four years are represented by a blank in the annalistic

record, which breaks off in 829 B.C. How formidable the rebellion was may be learnt from the list of communities concerned in it, embracing several cities in Assyria proper, such as Nineveh itself, and Asshur, as well as such widely separated districts as Hamath in the West, and Amedi (the modern Diarbekr) on the Upper Tigris. Our information about this significant uprising is derived from the inscription of Shamshī-Rammān himself, upon whom, as the second son, devolved the duty of suppressing it. This task he successfully accomplished, bringing back to their allegiance the rebellious cities, twenty-seven in number.[1] The rest of his warlike enterprises during his comparatively short reign of thirteen years were directed to securing and extending the territory claimed by Assyria in the north and northeast, where the rising power of Armenia excited his apprehensions, as well as in the east and south. His last expedition was aimed against Babylon, though he does not report that he actually invaded Babylonian territory. What he mainly intended was to vitally cripple that kingdom by destroying its source of military supply, which was furnished by the hardy inhabitants of the eastern and northeastern mountains. After successful operations in the territory bordering upon Media, the Babylonian king roused himself up to a great effort, and with a large force of auxiliaries, composed chiefly of Aramæans, Elamites, and Chaldæans, took his stand by a small stream called Daban, not far from Baghdad. The allies were defeated, but it does not appear that Babylonia itself was invaded. The annals of Shamshī-Rammān[2] do not date his several enterprises, and this is the last which they record. But we learn from one of the Eponym lists that he sent an expedition against the Chaldæans in 813 B.C., and another against Babylon itself in the following year, the last of his reign. His achievements were not

[1] I R. 29, 39–53.

[2] I R. 29–31, a stele now in the Br. Museum engraven in archaic characters.

insignificant or of mere transitory influence. It is noteworthy that, while he pushed as far eastward as the shores of the Caspian Sea, the country west of the Euphrates was left entirely undisturbed. The effect of this immunity from invasion during the whole of his reign and the last fourteen years of that of his predecessor we have already seen. We now have to tell how the West-land fared under his successor.

§ 248. Rammān-nirārī ("Ramman is my helper"), the third of that name, came to the throne in his youth, his father having died early in life. His reign of twenty-eight years (811–783 B.C.) was signalized by the extension of the empire beyond the furthest limits attained by any previous Assyrian ruler. The notices of his reign are quite scanty,[1] as far as they have been as yet recovered; but while they fail to furnish us with the details of his numerous warlike enterprises, they give a clear general picture of the range of his conquests. He proceeded steadily upon the lines laid down by his four predecessors. His subject states were divided by himself into three groups, according to their geographical direction. These were, first, those in the northeast and east, whither he sent no less than thirteen expeditions, eight of them being directed against Media alone. His conquests here, and in the more northerly country lying east of Lake Urmia, were so extensive as to justify his claim to have subdued all the territory as far as the Caspian Sea. The second group included the countries lying to the west of the Euphrates, and here he made good his boast to have conquered all the kingdoms between that river and the Mediterranean. He enumerates as belonging to the Hettite country and the West-land, Tyre, Sidon, Omri-land (§ 212, 243), Edom, and Philistia, besides making special reference to his conquest of Damascus. The third group contains the Chaldæan principalities, to which he seems to have sent

[1] Published I R. 35, Nrs. 1, 2, 3, 4. All except the very brief Nr. 4 (a brick inscription from Nineveh) were found in Nimrud.

but one expedition and that of no great circumstance, since he merely claims that he imposed tribute upon them and that they acknowledged his suzerainty. The visit to Chaldæa in 803[1] was probably made for the purpose of settling some local disturbance. In all likelihood, the work of subduing the Chaldæans was accomplished in his first year, in completion of the final operations of his father, and so their country was kept in subjection by garrisons during his life. We may even conclude that Rammān-nirārī was in this acting in the interest of Babylonia as well as Assyria, and that, since the defeat of the forces allied against his father, the two countries were united in close friendship.

§ 249. A remarkable circumstance mentioned in an inscription[2] made by one of the highest offices of Rammān-nirārī is of interest in this connection, and is also of special importance to students of classical literature. The story, or, rather, stories of Semiramis,[3] the wife of Ninus, retailed by Greek writers, passed until a comparatively late period for genuine history, and the accounts of her marvellous achievements in war, architecture, and irrigation, though on the face of them absurd, and out of harmony with anything ever known of national development, were accepted with almost as much credulity by modern scholars up to the present century, as by the contemporaries of the Greek historians. The inscription just mentioned reduces the heroine to her actual historic sphere and range, being at the same time the sole reference to her in the recovered inscriptions. It also gives us some suggestion of the basis of fact upon which the stupendous mass of fable was built. *Sammu-rāmat* is referred to by the official in question, who was governor of Kalaḫ and

[1] The Eponym notice for this year, "to the seashore," probably refers to the Persian Gulf.

[2] I R. 35, Nr. 2.

[3] For the history of the myth and its later treatment, see Rawlinson, *Five Monarchies*, II, 120 f.

several other important cities, as "the lady of the palace and his mistress." Her name follows immediately that of Rammān-nirārī, and the writer prays for the long life of them both, no other names than theirs and his own being mentioned. The reference is apparently to the wife of the king, and not to his mother. The mention of her name, when it occurs, opens up a wide perspective to the historical imagination. The inscription is written upon a statue of Nebo and is dedicated to that god. This agrees with the Eponym list for 787 B.C., which states that in that year "Nebo made his entry into the new temple." It further harmonizes with the friendly relations subsisting between Assyria and Babylon, that Nebo was properly a Babylonian god, the protectorate exercised by Assyria being confirmed and fostered by the adoption of the Babylonian deity, which of itself implies an attempted unification of the two peoples. It is instructive to note, what Tiele has pointed out,[1] that, before this, Nebo was not mentioned in any Assyrian inscription, and that hereafter not only is he frequently invoked, but proper names occur with "Nebo" as one of the elements, just as had always been the case in Babylonian documents. Henceforward, there is also to be observed a community of interest between the two countries not existing since the times of the early affiliations (§ 175). Now, as it was the rule that treaties of alliance were cemented by intermarriage between the reigning families, what is more probable than that Rammān-nirārī, who, as we have seen, came to the throne as a youth, should, after his warlike affairs with Babylonia were happily closed, have secured the newly made friendship by wedding the daughter or sister of his late rival? This, if a fact, explains as nothing else can, the most unaccountable thing in the whole legendary cycle which has Semiramis as the theme, — the statement that she ruled over both Babylon and Nineveh. Another point that may be mentioned, is that the extraordinary range of conquest

[1] BAG. p. 212.

attributed in the Greek stories to this famous queen, while plainly the result of a confusion with the Persian subjugation of the nations as far eastward as India, may be originally due to the circumstance that the husband of Sammurāmat claimed rightly a wider extent of possessions than any of his predecessors. Finally, this unique heroine must have really been a personage of exceptional prominence and importance, since queens or princesses, or, in fact, women of any degree, are never mentioned by name in the Assyrian monuments.[1]

§ 250. We must return, however, to the affairs of the West. Rammān-nirārī's succinct report, as has been already stated, speaks of the conquest of the whole of Palestine and Syria. At least five campaigns seem to have been carried on in this region, according to the Eponym chronicle. At any rate, five years were occupied in the work of subjugation, 806–803 and 797 B.C. The objective point in 806 was Arpad, in North-Middle Syria, where the Assyrians seem to have met with considerable resistance, since the close of the next year finds them occupied at the neighbouring city of ʿAzāz (*Ḫazazu*). The year 804 brings them to the Phœnician territory, and the record for 803 ("to the Sea-shore") appears to show the completion of the march along the Mediterranean. The claim made of the conquest of Syria (*māt Ḫattē*), Tyre and Sidon, as well as Philistia (*Palastu*), are thus accounted for; and it was doubtless in connection with the "Sea-coast" campaign that Edom (*Udumu*) was brought to subjection. Israel, or "Omri-land," and the kingdom of Damascus, were apparently subdued in 797 B.C., as the Eponym notice for that year is the only one that seems to suit the conditions. The furthest point reached by that expedition is the city *Manṣuāti*, which has been located by the help of geographical lists,[2] in Israelitish territory, in, or near, the plain of Jezreel. Israel was thus apparently invaded after the subjugation of Damascus, the victorious army having

[1] See Note 7 in Appendix.

[2] II R. 53, 39. 57. 59.

marched westward, and secured by the submission of Samaria, the allegiance of virtually the whole of the West. Judah and the other smaller kingdoms of Moab and Ammon he does not enumerate, and they were, in all likelihood, not interfered with, though they may have sent propitiatory presents.

§ 251. The conquest of Damascus was the most important event in the history of all that time, and one would suppose that Rammān-nirārī regarded it as the great achievement of his life, since it is the only exploit of which he makes special mention in the summary of his warlike enterprises. Who the king of Damascus at the time was, we cannot say with certainty. The word *Mari'*, which designates him, means in Aramaic "lord," and it may be merely the first name of his title, so that the possibility of identifying him with the third Ben-hadad of the Bible, the son of Hazael[1] (2 K. xiii. 24), is not excluded. This seems to be, indeed, demanded by the Biblical narrative, as we shall see presently. His final capitulation marks the most important era in the history of the Damascene kingdom; not that it brought the capital into the permanent possession of the Assyrians, but because it broke the power of Syria, after many years of resistance to the Eastern invaders, and many years, also, of predominance over the neighbouring kingdoms. This, as well as its consequences, explains the significance which the triumph evidently had in the eyes of the victor. Moreover, it must have been the last of a series of defeats sustained during the seven years' war, and was therefore all the more calamitous for Damascus.[2]

[1] There is no room for Mari unless this is done, since Ben-hadad III followed Hazael immediately. The name Ben-hadad was probably assumed in emulation of Ben-hadad II.

[2] The brief records of the Eponym lists note, as a rule, only one campaign in each year, the one which seemed of most importance (perhaps on account of the presence of the king as the leader). It is fair to conclude that between 803 and 797 other military movements were made, resulting in steady encroachments upon the Syrian capital.

§ 252. How well all this illustrates the meagre narrative of the Book of Kings! Jehoahaz, as we have seen (§ 246), was granted a certain measure of reprieve from the galling oppression of the Syrians. The relief was due to the crippling of the resources of Damascus by the aggressive warfare waged by the forces of Asshur during the closing years of the ninth century, and the "deliverer" (2 K. xiii. 5; cf. v. 23) was none other than the redoubtable Rammān-nirārī himself. During the reign of the next king of Israel, Joash, who came to the throne in or about 799 B.C., still further relief was granted; Syria was defeated in three successive battles (2 K. xiii. 25; cf. v. 14–19), and Joash recovered the cities which his father had lost. The possibility of recuperation and rehabilitation was plainly due to the collapse of the Syrian power under Mari-Ben-hadad III, through the surrender of the city and its enormous treasures in 797; and the continued prosperity of Israel under Joash and his successor became only possible with the prolonged humiliation of its ancient rival and oppressor.

§ 253. The question naturally suggests itself: How does it happen that the Bible records nothing of this great invasion and these prolonged military operations, especially when not merely Syria (as on previous occasions), but Palestine proper, was attacked and reduced to subjection? The explanation is that, as the narrative in its present form was compiled at a later date, only so much historical information was transferred from the official annals as bore directly upon the religious history of the people; and as the influence of this Assyrian invasion, even though Israel itself had now the invader on its soil for the first time, was not permanently felt, at least in tangible results, no mention was made of it in the final record. Moreover, it is plain that Damascus and Northern Palestine bore the brunt of the attack, that the march across the borders of Israel, like that along the sea-coast, was followed by immediate submission, and that there was no prolonged

occupation or serious loss of men or territory, such as were caused by later invasions. For the rest, it is probable that Israel and the other Western states, now become subject to Assyria, paid their allotted tribute till the death of Rammān-nirārī (783), which coincides nearly with the end of the reign of Joash.

§ 254. The kingdom of Judah, as we have seen, is not alluded to in the catalogue of subject nations drawn up by the Assyrian conqueror. Its secluded position, and especially the diminution of its prestige and resources during the troublous times that followed the murder of Ahaziah (842 B.C.), made it an object of little consequence to the Great King; Jerusalem was not the coveted vantage-ground which it afterwards became, for the Assyrian policy had not yet practically included defence or offence against Egypt, having indeed just begun to appreciate the importance of the magnificent site of Samaria for the control of Palestine. The fidelity of the priests rescued the feeble state by the last resort of revolution and bloodshed from the oppression, as well as the religious apostasy, of the queen Athaliah (842–836), and the political and moral rehabilitation, chiefly through reforms in worship directed by the high-priest Jehoiada (2 K. xi., xii.), went bravely on during the earlier years of Jehoash (836–797), the surviving infant son of Ahaziah, whom they had secretly nurtured as the rightful heir. The country was, however, again brought to the verge of destruction by the ravages of the Syrians (§ 243). But the humiliation and final overthrow of Damascus, which were accomplished during the last year of the reign of Jehoash, brought relief to Judah as well as Israel; and under his successor, Amaziah (797–758), it began to make its way to a position of power and respect among the Western states. Edom, which must have been shorn of much of its strength through its capitulation to the Assyrians (§ 250) about 800 B.C., was worsted in a war with Judah, which steadily aimed to reduce its former vassal, and to realize its old dream of

controlling the Red Sea traffic and the caravan trade with Southern Arabia. A step in the latter direction was now taken by the capture of Petra (2 K. xiv. 7). So much of freedom and expansion was vouchsafed to the two Hebrew monarchies through the Assyrian conquest of Damascus, of which the sole record is contained in the long-buried annals of the victorious monarch! Henceforward, Syria never became a controlling power, and though it is heard from again, it appears no more in the rôle of arbiter or suzerain, or oppressor of the neighbouring states. The fire had already begun to burn in the realm of Hazael, and to consume the palaces of Ben-hadad (Am. i. 4).

CHAPTER III

EXPANSION OF ISRAEL DURING ASSYRIAN INACTION

§ 255. For fifty years the torpidity and impotence of exhaustion prevailed in the kingdom of the Tigris, and this again was as important in its consequences as it was noteworthy in its origin. Let us take a glance at the condition of Assyria during the half-century of its quiescence, and then we can examine the causes of this historical phenomenon and estimate its indirect but weighty consequences.

§ 256. For the information which we possess for this period we are indebted to the scanty notices of the Eponym lists. From these we learn that the successor of Rammānirārī III was Shalmaneser, the third of that name (783–773), and that while his military activity is attested by an expedition during each year of his reign, its range was greatly decreased as compared with that of his great predecessors. The principal arena of his activity was Armenia, the growth of whose power threatened not only to prevent the establishment of Assyrian authority in that country itself, the scene of many Assyrian victories in former days, but even to rob the hitherto irresistible kings of Asshur of intermediate territory. Both of these dangers were, in fact, realized. The six expeditions led or sent by Shalmaneser against Armenia were the last that went thither from Assyria till 735 B.C., and we may therefore conclude that, at the close, all hopes of conquering the country were abandoned. By a fortunate coincidence, we are instructed as to the condition of affairs by Armenian

native documents, for the decipherment and translation of which we are indebted to the genius of Professor Sayce. From them it appears that the power of this kingdom of brave mountaineers had been consolidating and extending itself during most of the eighth century B.C., that it had spread far to the west of Lake Van, and actually encroached upon the Assyrian tributary states in Northern Syria. Argistis, the present reigning prince, claims that the gods had presented him with the land of Asshur. From this we are not to conclude that Assyria proper was actually invaded and occupied by this doughty patriot. Synecdoche has always been a favourite figure with the annalists of Oriental conquests, and it is evident that we must here, just as often elsewhere, understand a part for the whole. The literal fact seems to be that the Armenians subdued all the territory stretching southward between Lakes Van and Urmia, and perhaps even crossed the border of Assyria proper. The state thus prosperously established was built up at the expense of Assyria, whose loss of prestige was as serious as its loss of territory. It developed and flourished also by means of the lessons of civilization which it had learned from its former conquerors and now used to accomplish their overthrow.

§ 257. These disasters to the Assyrian arms were apparently not redeemed by successes in other directions. Inroads on his southern border, from bands of Armenians, Shalmaneser attempted to repel, but they went on as before. An expedition to the region of Mount Amanus ("Cedar-land"), and another to Damascus, the latter occurring in the last year of his reign, attest a widespread revolt among the western tributaries, which we judge, from subsequent inactivity on the part of the Assyrians, to have been entirely successful. The movement in Damascus, made by a community so thoroughly humbled as it had been, bears witness to the growing impotence of the once invincible Assyrians. From the fact that the Assyrian attempt at repression was made after

the campaigns in Armenian territory, we may infer that the failure of the latter encouraged a wide-spread revolt. We may also conclude that the expedition was directed against all the states of Syria and Palestine which Rammān-nirārī had subdued, since we must assume that they also refused to continue tribute to a declining suzerain. This was certainly the case with Israel, which had begun to enter upon the career of expansion and conquest inaugurated by Jeroboam II. Beyond these general conclusions we have as yet no clearer light thrown upon the question of international relations during this period.

§ 258. The reigns of the two following kings of Assyria witnessed a still further shrinking of the national resources and power. Asshur-dān (773–755) and Asshur-nirārī (755–745) passed many years of their reigns without going forth from their capital, an indication of quiescence and inaction which betokened the sure decay of the monarchy. We find mention made of an expedition to Media, to Namri, against the Southern Armenians, and even three against Hadrach[1] in Syria; but these were followed by no sign of success. The note for 758 B.C., "peace in the land," is significant as a token that the normal inactivity was due, not to the tranquillity of prosperity, but to the powerlessness of the realm of Assyria to meet in the field its revolted colonies and the predatory hordes that were pressing on their southern border. To these causes of national mourning were added numerous domestic insurrections and outbreaks of pestilence. Revolt was inaugurated in 763 in the city of Asshur, the ancient capital, and was not suppressed there till the following year. Thenceforward insurrections broke out repeatedly in various parts of the diminished empire.

§ 259. The names of the chief seats of these disturb-

[1] Assyr. *Ḫatarīka*. Cf. Zech. ix. 1; see KGF. p. 96 *al.*, Par. 279. The expeditions thither took place, according to C^{b} in 772, 765, and 755. It lay somewhere between Hamath and Damascus, nearer the former.

ances are of themselves suggestive of the deep-lying discontent and the disregard of legitimate and prescriptive authority in political and commercial centres, now manifested by the nobles and landholders; for to them military enterprise and success were necessary for the security of their possessions, and foreign domination for their enrichment through plunder and tribute. To princes and people alike, the present disasters were a cause of humiliation and mourning. The prosecution of public works and private business were alike retarded; the beautifying of the capital was abandoned, and even the construction and restoration of temples had to be foregone. The gods thus slighted seemed then to declare their displeasure. As the far-darting Phœbus Apollo avenged with pestilence the outrage committed against Chryses his priest, so the Sun-god withdrew his face from the people of Asshur; and there came such dreaded calamities as for thousands of years the priests and astrologers of Babylonia and Assyria had associated with celestial portents. A total eclipse of the sun in the month Sivan 763 (§ 265) is recorded in connection with the outbreak in the city of Asshur; and the notices for 765 and 759 end with the statement that there was "a pestilence" in the land. So when a final revolt was set on foot in the capital (746), the collapse of the whole empire, never firmly held together by internal bonds, seemed inevitable, under the pressure of military disasters and domestic calamities, unless some strong hand should intervene and save the state. The dynasty that had ruled Assyria for twelve centuries or more, in one branch or another of the same royal family, was now exhausted of its vitality and force. The times were ripe for a new leader, and his coming was not long delayed.

§ 260. In the mean time, events of still greater import were transpiring in Palestine, to which it will now be necessary briefly to direct attention. The fortunes of Assyria and Israel cease to be interdependent for a term of years; but we shall soon see the divergent lines of

historic influence converge once more, with results which the world still feels in every throb of its moral and spiritual life. Our survey of the leading events in the history of Israel and Judah brought us to the beginning of the revival of prosperity, rendered possible, as we observed, by the weakening of the power of Syria. The impulse given to national life in both of the Hebrew kingdoms was of long continuance, and, especially in the southern, of very remarkable force. The development of Judah, after its conquest of Petra in Edom (§ 254), was retarded by an unhappy conflict with Israel, precipitated by the ambitious folly of Amaziah, who, uplifted by his victory over the Edomites, sent a challenge to open battle to Joash of Israel (c. 790). This act of enmity, apparently quite unprovoked, was probably due to the recollection of the murder of his grandfather, Ahaziah, at the hands of Jehu, the grandfather of Joash. The ruler of Samaria, confident in his superior power, treated the message with ridicule, and when Amaziah persisted in his purpose surprised him within his own borders at Beth-shemesh, and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat, taking him prisoner and carrying him to his own capital. Here the people, overawed by the sudden defeat and capture of their king and commander, opened the gates of the city to the conqueror. He, sparing the life of Amaziah, contented himself with the rich plunder of the Temple and the king's private treasures, and, after taking hostages, returned to Samaria (2 K. xiv. 8–14).

§ 261. We do not read here, or elsewhere, of Israel ever having reduced the sister kingdom to the condition of vassalage, though now, at least, the very best opportunity of doing so presented itself. This fact, as contrasted with the relations existing between other neighbouring states throughout Western Asia, is suggestive of the deep underlying sense of brotherhood and of participation in a common religious inheritance, which was never quenched, even in times of armed antagonism. Amaziah, who lived fifteen years after the death of Joash (2 K. xiv. 17),

seems to have met with further ill-success in his government, as he was slain in a mutiny in Jerusalem, his youthful son Azariah ("Yahwè is my help;" in Chronicles: Uzziah, "Yahwè is my strength") being placed upon the throne by the choice of the people.

§ 262. During these events the northern people were flourishing to an unexampled degree. The victories of Joash over Damascus (§ 252) did not result merely in the expulsion of the Syrians from the cities of Israel, which they had seized and held during the reign of Jehoahaz. How far the reconquest of the ancient settlements extended northward we do not know. We may, however, assume, at least, that the Syrians were compelled to yield all the country west of the Jordan. But much greater triumphs were achieved by his son and successor, Jeroboam II, the greatest, or, at least, the most powerful, of the kings of Israel (783–743). The narrative of the Book of Kings states only in the broadest way the results of his military enterprises, informing us that he restored the ancient border of Israel from the entrance to Hamath to the sea of the Arabah[1] (2 K. xiv. 25). This, however, makes plain to us that Damascus interposed no longer any obstacle to the progress of Jeroboam indefinitely northward, and that at least all the territory claimed by the first Jeroboam was reclaimed once more. We must in this estimate include the old possessions to the east of the Jordan, probably Moab, and certainly the land of Gilead in its widest extent, where Damascus had borne sway so long and so cruelly. The country towards Hamath was probably only ravaged and laid under contribution.

§ 263. The rapidity and thoroughness with which this process of national recuperation was effected, in the comparatively few years that had elapsed since the death of Jehoahaz, in the opening year of the eighth century B.C., may well excite our admiration and wonder. The explanation, however, has already been largely suggested. The

[1] Cf. Am. vi. 14, "to the wady of the Arabah."

change is not to be traced to the vitality of the race alone, or the undeniable prowess and energy of the last two representatives of the house of Jehu. It was also due to the withdrawal of the pressure exerted by Damascus. And the fact that the rehabilitation was now so easily achieved shows, as nothing else can do, how great had been the force that had dominated the politics of the West-land, and how terrible the chastisement had been, after whose infliction Damascus lorded it no more among the nations. It remains to be added that Jeroboam put at least a temporary check to the ravages of the neighbouring peoples, which, for one purpose or another, invaded the borders of Israel. These were, besides Syria, especially Phœnicia and Ammon and Moab (Am. i.).

§ 264. The political and material condition of Israel under the dynasty of Jehu, which is but scantily indicated in the historical narrative, may be more fully learned from the writings of the contemporary prophet, Amos, who prophesied about the middle of the reign of Jeroboam. From him we gather, among other things, that the success which had attended the warlike enterprises of Israel under Joash and Jeroboam was not accompanied by unmixed prosperity. The first of the Prophets, though he lived in Judah, represented in great measure the northern kingdom also, and his allusions to calamities proceeding from natural causes refer to the whole of the Mediterranean coastland. He gives (ch. iv.) a long list of calamities, as fresh in recollection, just at the time when the country was freest from political troubles; he cites (iv. 6 ff.) drought and destructive insects, with famine, and adds to them blight and mildew, pestilence, and an earthquake. His reference to the death of multitudes in battle, and to the deprivation of the strongest portion of the national defence, the use of cavalry (iv. 10; cf. v. 3), are reminiscences of the days of Jehoahaz, when Israel was at its lowest. He mentions (i. 6, 9) with strong feeling an occasion of great loss, suffering, and humiliation to the Hebrew peoples,—

constant border raids conducted by the Philistians and Tyrians, for the special purpose of the slave-trade, the captives being sold to traders and crimps in the Edomitic port on the Red Sea. These incursions could hardly have been carried on with impunity during the reign of Jeroboam, and we therefore conclude that they form part of the retrospect of Israel's troubles, which make up the background of the picture of present danger and coming judgment drawn by Amos with such vividness and power.

§ 265. With regard to the calamities in the sphere of the natural world, it is impossible to determine accurately their dates; but we may be sure that they were still pressing hard upon the contemporaries of Amos. The earthquake fell within the reigns of Jeroboam and Azariah (Zech. xiv. 5), and we may add that much of the imagery of Amos seems to be drawn from eclipses of the sun (iv. 13; v. 8, 18, 20), one of which, indeed, appears to be directly referred to in viii. 9. The suggestion that this is the famous Assyrian eclipse of June 15, 763,[1] has much in its favour, and this supplies us not only with the approximate date of the commission and prophecy of Amos, but also recalls to us the fact that the Assyrian records, meagre as they are for this period, yet contain several notes of wide-spread calamities (§ 259). At least the pestilence of 765 may be cited as evidence that this terrible visitation came upon the whole country, from the Mediterranean to the Tigris; and one is perhaps not far wrong in attributing it, as well as other evils, to the wars that had been raging so constantly throughout the whole realm of the North-Semitic civilization.

§ 266. These, and kindred occasions of national depression and unsettlement, instruct us more accurately as to the real state of popular feeling during the reign of Jero-

[1] Cf. Note 5, and see especially KGF. p. 338 ff. Besides this, there had been the total eclipse of 809, and another, also visible in Palestine, happened Nov. 8, 771, at 12.55 P.M. (See Stanley's *Jewish Church*, 1887, vol. ii, p. 311.)

boam than a mere general statement as to his successes in war. He was, no doubt, a patriotic and strenuous ruler, and his strong hand availed to keep the reclaimed tribal possessions of Israel in some sort of cohesion until his death. The central power was maintained by an energetic administration, involving a strong force of officials in the capital and in the chief provincial towns, and, above all, the maintenance of a large and well-drilled army. Now it became at length a question whether this establishment could be kept up; whether an impoverished and much afflicted people, consisting largely of small landholders, in districts whose attachment to Israel was intermittent and subject to the fortune of war, would continue to follow loyally even the most successful and powerful of their kings. We may gather, I think, from the various records, that they did not. Whatever may have been the attitude of the pampered nobles and parasites of the court, the people at large were discontented and unruly, ready to divide themselves into factions, which would support, respectively, this and that pretender, whom the condition of affairs encouraged to aim at the kingly authority. The times demanded both a genius for ruling in the kings of Israel, and also the perpetuation of a powerful dynasty. The insecurity of a throne, which had been already often contested, was made manifest upon the death of its most powerful occupant, and the house of Jehu was doomed.

§ 267. The history of the northern kingdom after the death of the second Jeroboam affords a striking parallel to the times that followed the reign of the first (§ 211). His son Zachariah reigned only six months. "Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him and smote him at Ibleam,[1] and put him to death and reigned in his stead" (2 K. xv. 10). But the usurper enjoyed his authority for even a briefer period than his victim. Menahem, in all

[1] Sept. Lucian Ἰεβλααμ (cf. Josh. xvii. 11) corrects the unintelligible קבלעם, of which Ewald (followed by Stanley) has made the name of an additional king of Israel.

probability one of the generals of the army, marched against him from his post at Tirzah, and put to an end his ambitious (and, perhaps, patriotic) enterprises by a summary execution. Receiving, as we may assume, the support of the nobles, he maintained himself upon the throne against the opposing elements of the population for a few years, until, being hard pressed, he followed the example of a previous usurper and called in the aid of the now revived power of Assyria. This crisis will need a special treatment, and we shall now follow for a moment the course of the history of the southern kingdom.

§ 268. The decline of the kingdom of Damascus, which had furnished the opportunity and the incentive for the revival of the fortunes of the kingdom of Israel, gave even a stronger, or, at least, a more permanent, impetus to the development and strengthening of Judah. The reign of Uzziah marks the point at which that kingdom emerges from its obscurity and takes an equal place among the leading nations of Western Asia. The duration of his sole reign we cannot with any certainty determine, but its beginning is almost coincident with that of his northern compeer. The very fact that political good fortune attended both kingdoms alike, is perhaps of itself an argument in favour of the contemporaneousness of the reigns of the two successful monarchs, since it will be observed that, after the time of embitterment and embroilment which followed the great schism, the two Hebrew monarchies, relatively to the outside world, rose and declined together. The Book of Kings has little to say of this epoch of national advancement; but conquests among the Philistines and Ammonites are attested by incidental evidence, and are particularly described in the Book of Chronicles[1] (ch. xxvi.). The political genius of Uzziah is illustrated by his establishment of a well-trained army, consisting of a national militia, in addition to the

[1] The credibility of the statements in Chronicles is shown in an article by the present writer in the *Expositor*, November, 1890, "Uzziah and

body-guard, which had been in existence from the days of David and had had a predominance dangerous on many occasions to the public peace and welfare, in both Judah and Israel. The existence and efficiency of such an army, combined with respect for dynastic authority in the southern kingdom, accounts, in a large measure, for the perpetuation of that monarchy far beyond the days of Uzziah. To this must be added the measures taken by Uzziah for the strengthening of Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxvi. 9) on the sides most open to attack, and the employment of engines of defence with projectiles, after the fashion represented on the Assyrian monuments (v. 15). In other respects, also, he seemed to follow the example of the most notable of Assyrian monarchs, whose paternal care for the people was as great as their warlike enterprise and valour; the digging of reservoirs, the cultivation of the vine, and the breeding and improvement of cattle, all finding in him a zealous promoter (v. 10).

§ 269. Uzziah, in his declining years, was a victim to the terrible disease of leprosy, and was thus both physically and legally incapable of taking an open part in public affairs. His son Jotham acted as regent during this period, and his reign of sixteen years lasted till but little beyond the death of his father. His total administration may be put down provisionally as having extended from about 750 to 735 B.C., and the death of Uzziah took place later than 740 B.C., since he is apparently mentioned in an Assyrian inscription in connection with an event which occurred very soon after that date (§ 307). We may put it provisionally at 738 B.C., so that the single reign of Jotham probably lasted not more than two or three years.[1]

the Philistines." The state of things as described by the Chronicler explains later historical conditions otherwise inexplicable, *e.g.*, Hezekiah's lordship over Ekron.

[1] We have, perhaps, a suggestion of its length in 2 Chr. xxvii. 5. Here it is said that the Ammonites rendered tribute "in the second year and in the third"; that is, apparently, it was paid till the accession of a new king.

Its duration must have been very brief, since it is not marked distinctively in the contemporary prophetic writings, as those of Uzziah and Ahaz are. The character of his rule was essentially the same as that of his father. He continued the same vigorous régime, perhaps under the direction of Uzziah, as long as the latter lived. It is, at any rate, remarkable that Uzziah should have been regarded by foreigners like the Assyrians as the official ruler, till near the end of his days. This fact can only be explained on the supposition that the monarch who had given to his country a position of Palestinian supremacy retained, even in retirement, his prestige and influence, till he was humbled by the power of Assyria itself (§ 308), at the very close of his remarkable career. During Jotham's regency the kingdom continued to prosper. Edom, the hereditary foe, was still kept under; and trade and commerce, which extended in various directions and circulated many articles of international value, received its most marked impetus from the Edomite seaport at the head of the Elamitic Gulf acquired by Uzziah (2 K. xiv. 22). The people became more curious and more enterprising, and acquired a relish for foreign culture and secular ideas. Even a taste for works of pictorial art, so foreign to all the races of the West-land, began to be cultivated (Isa. ii. 16). In this innovation, as in other matters already mentioned, we may discern the influence of Babylonia and Assyria, which had conquered much of Western Asia by their manners long before they had permanently subdued it by their arms. The defences of the country were increased and strengthened, especially on the western side, and Jerusalem was more strongly fortified against impending days of siege. The Ammonites brought rich tribute for three years; and since Ammon was only accessible if Moab was subdued or quiescent, it may be supposed that the latter kingdom withdrew its allegiance to Israel after the troubles which began there with the death of Jeroboam, and submitted to Judah without serious opposition. If

so, we have here an explanation of a part, at least (Isa. xvi. 1 ff.), of the obscure prophecy relating to Moab which was quoted by Isaiah about 704 B.C.[1]

§ 270. Jotham died while still young. After the Assyrian complication and its penalties (§ 307 f.), the last year of his life was clouded by a foreign imbroglio which was to result in most important consequences; namely, a combination between Israel and Damascus against Judah. This movement, as novel in its character as it was momentous, is to be partly explained (see § 316) as an attempt to curb the power of Judah, which was still greater than that of either of the allies. The responsibility of dealing with it was transferred by the death of Jotham to his son Ahaz.

§ 271. We have seen how, in the kingdom of Israel, the prosperous times of Jeroboam, instead of promoting the strength and permanence of the state, really helped to hasten its dissolution, by promoting class feeling and sectional divisions, with mutual distrust, popular discontent, and, as a consequence, sedition, revolts, usurpations, and civil war. The contrast afforded by the solidarity and governmental stability of Judah is very striking, and is, perhaps, at no period so worthy of remark as at the accession of the youthful Ahaz. We see that in Israel the discordant elements, which were held together by the strong hand of Jeroboam, began to strain apart in his later years, and broke quite asunder at once after his death. But in Judah, whatever forces were at work tending towards disintegration were checked and thwarted by stronger centripetal tendencies. Ahaz was, indeed, not only very young, but also weak, timid, irresolute, and vacillating; and gross evils, akin to those which had marred the northern kingdom, had already taken firm root

[1] See Ewald, *History of Israel*, iv. 144, note (Engl. tr.). The words of Isa. xvi. imply that the subjection of Moab to Judah was either existing or impending, and no other period than the time of Uzziah and Jotham suits this condition.

in his dominions also: a grasping and usurious spirit among capitalists; the growth of a class of large landholders, alien to the spirit of Hebrew institutions and subversive of the frugal and hardy independence of the citizens; oppression of the poor; corruption and dishonesty in the courts of justice; irreligion and practical skepticism among leaders of opinion; luxurious and profligate habits, especially intemperance and licentiousness, among the nobles and the wealthy; and, last but not least, the spoiling of home life and the deterioration of the old-time simplicity and purity of manners, through the frivolity and fashionable self-display of the women of the capital. But, in spite of these elements of decay and division, most of which continued to exist and flourish till the close of Jewish independence, and in spite of foreign complications more serious than any which had as yet threatened the stability of the Northern Kingdom, the little principality of Judah remained a monarchy and a nation for a century and a half after the death of Uzziah. An inquiry into the causes of this historical phenomenon will help us to understand not only the internal affairs of Judah, but also its international relations, from this critical period onward.

§ 272. A mere glance at the map of Palestine, as divided between the two Hebrew kingdoms, helps to explain these outstanding facts, particularly if at the same time we call to mind the conditions under which the two kingdoms were founded and developed. The partition of territory between the two nations was not made in accordance with the physical conditions which naturally promote political division. To be sure, a large part of the population of the northern kingdom had the same pursuits and interests as the people of Judah, and, if tribal antecedents had not intervened, would naturally have coalesced with them into a compact and powerful homogeneous organic whole. In that part of the kingdom of Israel, from its southern boundary northward to the edge of the plain of Jezreel, the people were, from the nature of the soil which

they occupied, simple husbandmen, vine-dressers, and shepherds, while the southern kingdom, from Jericho to the beginning of the maritime lowlands, was wholly affected by the same important outward conditions, and of large towns, that would naturally break this continuity, there were few besides Jerusalem. The northern kingdom was divided into four main sections. There was first the country about Samaria, already characterized. Then came the spacious valley and plain of Jezreel, with its large wheat plains and its rich estates, its flourishing trading towns and its rural aristocracy. North of that, again, lay the territory claimed by Asher, Zebulon, and Naphtali, but only partially preëmpted by them, and so much taken up by the unsubdued race of Canaanites, and later by alien immigrants from east and west and north, as to be designated in the time of Uzziah and Ahaz "the district (circle) of the Gentiles" (Isa. viii. 23; cf. 1 K. ix. 11; 2 K. xv. 29), the whole forming a heterogeneous community of traders, fishermen, and agriculturists. Lastly, east of the Jordan were the great grazing and spice-bearing districts, which went by the general names of Gilead and Bashan. The history of each of these divisions has already been given, from the point of view of their relations to the central government; and it has been made abundantly clear how loose the bonds of attachment were from the very beginning of the separate monarchy. The story from end to end, as contrasted with the fortunes of the smaller but unitary Judæan kingdom, illustrates most strikingly to how great an extent geographical and physical conditions determine the bent and tendencies of isolated and dependent communities; and it also shows how the cohesiveness of a nation which lacks the capacity and endowment of local self-government, is derived mainly from the common impulses that are awakened by similarity of occupation and of every-day experience on the part of the constituent elements of its population.

§ 273. Our present stage of progress in this history also

enables us to look forward and backward upon the international relations of the two kingdoms respectively, and to appreciate the advantages possessed by the smaller country as to chances of survival among the feuds and complications that made up the framework of national life and action in ancient Western Asia. Here, again, geographical conditions were most favourable to Judah and unfavourable to the Northern Kingdom. The former was separated on the east from the naturally hostile countries of Moab and Ammon[1] by the Dead Sea and the Arabah, so that trouble rarely came from that quarter (§ 215); while, on the west, the Philistian cities, which were less capable of unification and organization than any communities of the Hebraic race, were unable to do them serious harm, by reason of their ever-increasing tendency to isolated action, and their consequent decreasing influence. On the north, Samaria acted normally as a barrier against the Syrians, who only once (§ 243) injured Judah by a successful invasion. It was from the south that danger was to be chiefly dreaded, and that from Edom, which was a real source of trouble, though usually kept in subjection, or at least restricted to secondary operations of guerilla and border warfare. Egypt, partly on account of domestic preoccupation, and partly because of lack of national energy, pretermitted during the earlier years of the Judæan monarchy its ancient rôle of Asiatic invader, and in the latter times was more to be dreaded as an intriguing and faithless ally than as an active enemy. For the rest, the desert tribes that continually encroached on the Negeb

[1] The prophecies against Moab in Isa. xv., xvi., have, as their chief occasion, the relations between that country and the Northern Kingdom. The same may be said of Jer. xlviii. (see especially v. 27), though certain expressions in that chapter, including adaptations there made from older prophecies recorded in Isaiah, and the similar utterances in Zeph. ii. 8 ff., refer to the conduct of Moab towards Judah in the declining period of the latter. Ammon is regarded by Prophecy from the same historical standpoint as Moab; see the same passage in Zephaniah and Jer. xlix. 1-5.

were, in some respects, of actual benefit to the Jewish nation; they furnished recruits both to the working population and to the militia, and when the more formidable of their tribes were subdued they rendered service as vassals in the defence of their suzerain.

§ 274. How differently situated in this respect the northern kingdom was, we have had already ample occasion to note, and shall soon see proved more abundantly. East of Jordan, "Damascus threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron" (Am. i. 3), and Moab requited itself for its hard service to Israel by plundering and curtailing the most exposed portions of its ancient tribal possessions,[1] while Ammon also bore a hand in similar enterprises (Jer. xlix. 1). The most of "Galilee" fell a prey to Syria in the reign of the third king of Israel, and was never permanently recovered. The plain of Jezreel, which, by reason of its being the great caravan route, was at best only half Israelitish, became the frequent camping-ground of the Syrian, and, later, of the Assyrian armies, which it almost seemed to be perpetually inviting through its open passes, its well-trodden roads, and its unprotected wealth.

§ 275. Another element of permanence and solidity possessed by the Southern Kingdom was the fact that it consisted virtually of one tribe; at least, the tribal differences between Judah and Benjamin, which once had been so strong, were forgotten as the people of both tribes became merged in the one current of life and action which ebbed and flowed about the common centre, the great city and fortress once claimed by Benjamin. The contrast with the Northern Kingdom, which might be illustrated indefinitely, is strikingly suggested by the perpetuation, not of the names of each of "the ten tribes," for these had, for the most part, lost their separate identity (§ 200), but of representative designations of the several above-named sections: Ephraim, Manasseh, Naphtali, and Gilead. Ephraim, the predominant section, never really came into

[1] Inscription of Mesha, l. 10 ff. (cf. § 235).

vogue as a designation for the whole, in the same way as did Judah in the southern kingdom; for it never included the country east of Jordan, and besides appears to have been used in this broad sense only in the times when Samaria and the surrounding territory comprised the whole of what remained of the kingdom founded by Jeroboam I.[1]

§ 276. A fourth distinction between the two kingdoms lay in the greater relative importance of Jerusalem, as contrasted with the northern capital. Samaria was not the original royal residence. It could not compete in traditional sanctity or ancient fame with several other centres within the bounds of the revolted tribes. It was not even a city till the founder of the third dynasty purchased the hill on which it was built and made it his stronghold. But even as a fortress Jerusalem had been famous any time within the previous fifteen hundred years (Gen. xiv.; § 152); and to its immemorial renown was added the prestige of the throne of David and Solomon as rulers over a united Israel, the glory of the Temple with the Ark and the Shechina, the original ritual, the unbroken round of sacrifice in the undisputed seat of the God of the Covenant. For these and other reasons, plain to attentive readers, Jerusalem became ever more and more the dominant portion of the nation, furnishing a stimulus to the loyalty and pride of the people, and the foundation of inextinguishable patriotic hope. Thus it came to pass that, by a process of historical development exceptional in the ancient Orient, there were established in Judah the political con-

[1] Observe the gloss "Ephraim" for "Israel" in 2 Chr. xxv. 7, and the alternation of the names in Hos. iv. 16, 17; v. 3 (twice); v. 9; vi. 10; xi. 8; xiii. 1. "Ephraim" is never used as the equivalent of "Israel" in Kings, but frequently so in Chronicles. "Israel" is the only term employed by Amos (note, however, "Joseph," in v. 15; vi. 6); but "Ephraim" is employed by Hosea more often than "Israel," and it is quite common in Isaiah. This indicates the effect of the collapse of the kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II, and its shrinkage into the historical kernel of the nation which contained the capital, the most defensible and long-lived portion of the "Kingdom of the Ten Tribes."

ditions which, in those regions and in those times, always secured the greatest national strength and perpetuity,— a powerful and well-defended city, surrounded by an industrious and contented dependent village and country population. How this became possible in the case of Jerusalem and Judah, and yet in a way out of correspondence with the history of other Oriental cities and states, is now becoming apparent.

§ 277. The permanence of the Judaic monarchy was also furthered by the good relations maintained between the king and his court and the common people of the city and country. Organized discontent did not easily manifest itself among the simple husbandmen and cattle-tenders outside of Jerusalem. While it was thus no difficult problem to maintain the royal authority among this portion of the population, the popular leaders, such as the Prophets, who arose here and there among them, were the most loyal of all the people to the house of David. In Jerusalem itself, the Temple with its priestly and other attendants, the court and the magistracy with their train of officers, formed such a large class, that this aristocratic element and its *clientèle* easily controlled the body of the citizens. Again, the bearing and disposition of the kings towards their subjects were, as a rule, easy and generous; and it will not be forgotten that it is the literature of the kingdom of Judah that has given to the world the best notions of what constitutes an ideal ruler.

§ 278. Thus it happened that while the Northern Kingdom, during its two centuries of separate existence, was ruled by several dynasties, and its list of kings includes nine usurpers, there was but one short break in the succession of the family of David. Even in the period of final trouble, under the Chaldæans, these despoilers of kingdoms did not go outside the legitimate line in choosing the new rulers whom they imposed upon the people. There was but one revolution, and that resulted in the dethronement of the only usurper known to the Judaic

annals, and she the mother of the legitimate king, who was then enthroned in her place. It was much that the constitution of the little kingdom withstood the stress of the times of trial already passed under review. But that, upon the larger sea of Asiatic politics, it endured so long, without internal rupture or wreck, the strain of Assyrian invasions and Egyptian intrigue, is a phenomenon unique in Oriental history. It seems only to be accounted by a special Providence, which secured through such stability of institutions and manners the fulfilment of a larger promise and a more blessed hope than were involved in the fortunes of any single people or nation.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ASSYRIAN POLICY AND HEBREW PROPHECY

§ 279. THE middle of the eighth century B.C., as we have seen (§ 257 f.), found the Assyrian empire almost reduced to its original limits, and struggling rather for existence than for supremacy over the nations. The loss of territory, of wealth, and of prestige, the decline in trade and commerce, the revolts and dissensions within the capital itself, the threatened incursions from border tribes, all pointed to the necessity of a change of rulers, which should result in restoring its accustomed power and splendour to the realm of Asshur. The man who responded to the demand, Tiglathpileser III, was one who did a great deal more than merely restore the old order of things. His administration of eighteen years (745–727) began a new era, not merely in the history of Assyria, but also in the history of the world. Several of his predecessors had made conquests equal or nearly equal to his; but he was the first who knew how to retain the possessions thus acquired. He was the first, indeed, who anywhere ruled over an empire in the true sense of this term. Before him, the territory claimed by the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria were held, for the most part, on a very precarious tenure. The new king introduced new ideas of organization and administration; and these principles, steadily acted upon by himself and his successors, finally resulted in the establishment of a comparatively settled government throughout the North-Semitic world.

§ 280. This epoch-making ruler, whose given name was

Pūlu, styled himself officially Tiglathpileser, probably in emulation of the great Tiglathpileser I (§ 179 ff.). He was the third of that name to rule in Assyria (cf. § 216). His original name seems to have been that by which he was best known to the populace and to his Babylonian and Palestinian contemporaries. But, naturally, his self-chosen cognomen is the only designation that finds a place in the official documents of Assyria. Berossus refers to him as "Phulus rex Chaldæorum," and the Canon of Ptolemy names Poros (apparently the same word modified by later Persian influence) as one of the contemporary kings of Babylon. In the Hebrew records both names occur: Pul in 2 K. xv. 19 (twice), and Tiglathpileser in 2 K. xv. 29 and xvi. 7, 10, 1 Chr. v. 6, and 2 Chr. xxviii. 20, and both together in 1 Chr. v. 26. The Babylonian cuneiform official documents also give both forms; that is to say, the list of Kings gives Pūlu, and the Chronicle, Tiglathpileser.[1]

§ 281. It is impossible as yet to tell under what circumstances this great ruler came to the throne. Whether the revolt of 746, already mentioned (§ 258 f.), was ended by the death of Asshur-nirārī, or whether he died a natural death, does not appear. According to the statement for 745 of the Eponym lists, "Tiglathpileser took his seat on the throne in the month Ayru, on the thirteenth day." This corresponds to the beginning of May, 745. The report of the preceding year would extend from March-April, 746, to March-April, 745, and the revolt therein referred to might have therefore taken place very shortly before the accession of the new king.[2] The coincidence is close enough to justify at least a suspicion that the insurrection terminated fatally for his predecessor. He may perhaps have belonged to some branch of the royal family, though the fact that his parentage or ancestry is never mentioned[3] makes it improbable that he was the nearest

[1] See Note 8 in Appendix. [2] Cf. Hommel, GBA. p. 648.

[3] This was also the case with Sinacherib (see Tiele, BAG. p. 226); and the reason why he is silent is probably because his father, Sargon,

heir of the late king. The supposition that has the most likelihood is that he was a general of the army, who, at one stage or another of the revolution, came to be leader of the victorious forces, and at its close was chosen to repair the shattered fortunes of the empire. There is no sufficient ground for the belief that he was a Babylonian by birth, as has sometimes been assumed. From the fact that he retired from active personal service in the field some little time before his death, we may infer that, as in the case of Shalmaneser II, he was at that stage of his career well advanced in life. Since he reigned but eighteen years, he was probably at least of middle age at his accession. In any case, his achievements show that, as a man of experience, he had given much careful thought to the subject of the condition of the Assyrian empire and the surest means of making his sway not only wide but permanent.[1]

§ 282. The reader will bear in mind the practical ends that were steadily kept in view by the rulers of the empire of the Tigris, ever since the time when Asshurnāṣirpal took up again the imperial idea of which the great namesake of the present king in the twelfth century was the chief ancient exponent (§ 179, 217). The aim was, in brief, to make all lands tributary to Asshur, to administer directly the affairs of each district or tribe where that was

having been out of the kingly line, he had no pedigree "to brag of." The case would then be an illustration of that of Tiglathpileser.

[1] Tiglathpileser's inscriptions are numerous; but they have come to us in a very imperfect state. They were of two main classes: those which summarize his deeds in comprehensive statements according to the localities or aims of his activity, and his Annals, which describe his achievements in detail and in chronological order. Of the former class the most important are Lay. 17 and 18, and II R. 67. The latter have been published mostly in a fragmentary form in several plates of Layard, and in III R. 9 and 10. For Smith's efforts to secure all surviving records in Nimrud, see AD. p. 73 f., and p. 253–287 for criticism and translations. Schrader, Tiele, and Hommel have all done good work in sifting and adjusting, and now we have a complete edition of the remains with transcription and translation by P. Rost, 1893.

feasible; but, in any case, to secure regular contributions of the richest resources of the nations, with the acknowledgment of the sovereignty and supremacy of the representative of the gods of Assyria. It will be remembered how each of the great conquerors had reached beyond his predecessors, especially in the line of advance that led to the trading-marts of Arabia and the Mediterranean, till Rammān-nirārī III had gained a footing in Palestine, and, in addition, had secured the acquiescence of Babylon in his domination of Chaldæa, and the consequent command of the Persian Gulf. But these long campaigns and persistent exertions had at last ended in disappointment and disgrace; Asshur was put to shame before the lesser gods, and his people were made as poor as many of those whom they had robbed and spoiled so long at will. It was at length made plain that the greatest efforts and achievements were followed by the greatest losses and the deepest humiliation; that, just in proportion to the outlay of human and material resources in foreign conquest, and the consequent temporary success of the Assyrian arms, was the degree of exhaustion and impotence that followed. The truth was, that the task of subduing the nations was a less formidable undertaking than the business of keeping them in subjection; and the uprising of the outraged tribes and cities, as soon as the invading hosts had left the land, and the wounds of the "weapons of Asshur" had healed, made too great a demand upon the military resources of the "kings of the four quarters of the earth." After Asshurnāṣirpal and Shalmaneser II, there had come a time of crippling and shrinking; and the overgrown mass of territory acquired under Rammān-nirārī III had dwindled into the mangled and quivering body-politic of which Tiglathpileser was now to assume the care, and which he undertook to restore to life and power.

§ 283. The new monarch perceived that, to carry out the old plan of subjugation and administration, would require not merely an army continually on the march from

one insurgent district to another, but as many armies of occupation as he had, or expected to have, administrative districts. But even this would not provide a satisfactory government, since a régime of martial law would fail to develop the resources of the countries from which he hoped to draw his riches. Nor would it be possible to attempt this system on a large scale, since the loyal subjects of the empire could not furnish sufficient troops necessary for the doubtful experiment. How, then, was the scheme of world-wide empire to be realized? For realized it must be, according to the purpose of the great gods of Assyria, who had called him to be king. The solution of the problem is not to be gathered from any direct statement of the Assyrian annals, since these are always drawn up in the same stereotyped fashion, with the same rigid and exclusive adherence to the salient facts of battles and spoliation. We are rather to infer it from the general indications afforded by the records in this later period, as contrasted with the time before Tiglathpileser. The chief device was to secure a tractable population in the more troublesome unsubmissive districts, by substituting other inhabitants for those who persistently refused to acquiesce in the rule of the oppressor, and who were themselves dragged away to a remote portion of the empire, usually not very far from the capital. At the same time that this drastic measure was coming into application, a more thorough organization of the provinces and vassal states was gradually being made, civil administration being more and more substituted for military control, so that an assimilation to the old home provinces was being effected, step by step. The matter of organizing and controlling the outlying districts presented special difficulty, for several reasons more or less obvious. The peoples to be ruled were diverse in race and habits, in previous forms of government, and in modes of worship; but it may be presumed that, in many cases, a still greater obstacle was afforded in the extent of territory which was to be taken as the administrative unit. If

we revert for a moment to the opening chapter, where it was shown how the typical Semitic community grew up, it will be remembered that each city, with its local deity and his representative, the petty king, formed the basis of each primitive state (§ 36 f.). Now when, in Babylonia and Assyria, one city came to dominate the rest, the latter were not merged completely into the former so that their affairs were administered directly from the ruling city, but each of them remained a sort of municipality by itself. It did not, as a rule, part with its own deity or cult, but it owned the supremacy of the god of the conquerors, and for that reason forfeited its own king, receiving in his place a municipal governor or magistrate (*šalaṭ*). So, as the kingdom of Assyria proper developed, there were as many governmental units within its limits as there were principal cities originally. So, also, when the royal residence was removed, as from Asshur to Kalach, and from Kalach to Nineveh proper, each of these places still had its own chief magistrate; and we have seen already how a revolt could spring up in any one of these apart from the others (§ 258).

§ 284. Now when it came to organizing a newly conquered district, though there might be no theoretical difficulty about adjusting its relations to the central power, practically the conquerors were continually coming to face problems for which their previous small experiments in state-building offered them no ready-made solution. Particularly was this the case with communities such as those of Armenia, Kommagene, groups of Aramæans both east and west of the River, the Hettite tribes of Eastern Cilicia and Northern Syria, and the unique Hebraic monarchies, which were accustomed more or less frequently to act as a unit in offence and defence. Each of these combinations obviously needed to be controlled by one central authority; and how to effect this was the question long found too difficult to answer, so difficult that the attempt had several times brought the realm of Asshur to

the verge of dissolution. These were the days of the first essays at nation-making; no general assimilating process had been applied or devised by the Semitic peoples of Western Asia; and the world had yet to wait two centuries for the new art of ruling and the genial sway of Cyrus the Aryan.

§ 285. It will be appropriate here to anticipate some of the results of later historic development, and to state succinctly what appear to be the relations sustained by the several classes of subject states to the ruling power, under the new Assyrian empire, and its successor and imitator, the Chaldæan (cf. § 39). The importance of the matter may be suggested by the recollection that it was by the operation of this system of things that Israel's doom was wrought, the most tragic and world-moving epochs in its history created, and the course of Revelation itself, in conformity to the occasions of that history, guided and determined. The different classes of subject states may be comprehensively distinguished as follows, the constant element being, of course, the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the "Great King," the "King of Kings," the "vicegerent of the great gods," and a tangible proof of such submission and deference in the form of a regular payment of tribute and sending of gifts.

§ 286. The first mode of relation sustained by a subject community may be illustrated in a general way by the vassal states of modern Turkey, such as Bulgaria, East Rumelia, and Egypt, which are supposed to render a regular tribute to the suzerain, but are allowed to retain their autonomy, with their own form of government and their own ruler. In these modern cases it has happened, for historical reasons, that a governor or viceroy or "prince" holds sway, while the ancient vassals of Assyria, like the "protected" rajahs of modern British India, were the "kings" of the several nations which were permitted their own autonomous administration. This relation was very common and was brought about in a variety of ways. A

mild degree of coercion might at first be exercised, as by the threatening approach of an army of invasion. The Assyrians would then be bought off by conciliatory gifts, which would henceforth be regularly insisted on. Or, if resistance were offered to the troops of Asshur, under whatever pretext they were present in the land, the necessary coercion would involve the imposition of a stated tax, besides an immediate levy or indemnity. This was the usual history of the hardier nations, such as the fully developed Aramæan kingdoms west of the River, and the states of Lower Babylonia in the first stage of armed conflict. Or, again, when two neighbouring kingdoms were at war, one of them might purchase with costly gifts the support of the Assyrians, who would proceed to crush the other combatant, and take care at the same time to rank the suppliant monarch among his faithful subjects, and, in fact, insist on the practical acknowledgment of his overlordship as the condition of aid. Such relations we shall see repeatedly exemplified in the history of Israel and Judah. As a matter of course, the country against which intervention was invoked was also, if not already a tributary state, immediately put into that category and under much more severe conditions. The least onerous of bonds were entered into where any community, feeling the importance of having the favour of the Great King, propitiated him by sending presents, such as, according to immemorial Oriental custom, supreme rulers were in the habit of receiving.[1] This was apt to be continued as an act of homage, and the suitor was held to have acknowledged the king of Assyria as his over-lord; and while he looked for protection in case of need, he was expected to repeat his gifts, which naturally came at length to be regarded as a regular tribute. It was in this way, for example, that Jehu put Israel under bonds to Assyria (§ 242 f.), so that tribute was expected by his successors. It will be observed that, while the sentiments with which

[1] Cf. Ps. xlv. 12; lxviii. 29; lxxii. 10; Isa. xxx. 6.

these various classes were viewed by the great autocrat might be very different, they were all sooner or later put in the same list, — that long catalogue of "servants and sons" (2 K. xvi. 7) of the ruler of the nations. The essential characteristic of them all in their relation to the suzerain was that they were regarded as having given their first recognized pledge of homage, tribute, and feudal service.

§ 287. A decisive interval separates the second class from the first. When any tributary state showed signs of discontent and constructive hostility — by refusing to pay the annual impost or to furnish a requisition of troops or supplies, or by secretly intriguing with another power, or in any way indicating restlessness or a desire for a change — an armed force was sent to the recalcitrant district, the effect being, for the most part, to awe it into submission, though sometimes actual chastisement had to be inflicted. In any case, a severe penalty was imposed: a heavy fine was laid on, and the regular tribute doubled or still more largely increased, so that the risk of sedition or outward tokens of an unruly disposition became grave indeed. Hezekiah, for example, found himself in this category, as his confession implies (2 K. xviii. 14), when, after a visitation and warning received from Šargon, he formed a league with the Philistine cities and withheld tribute. In flagrant cases of rebellion and conspiracy, as in the case of Hoshea of Israel, the final step of national obliteration was taken at once.

§ 288. If a subject state in the condition of last probation, as defined above, should once more revolt against the yoke of servitude, should withhold tribute or military service, engage in active insurrection, or league itself with the enemies of Assyria, its doom as a nation was summarily pronounced, and its destruction at once undertaken. It was incorporated directly into the empire, losing its governmental autonomy: not only was its ruler dethroned, but his very function was abolished. Assyrian

administrators were appointed, of which the chief and most essential were the civil governor (*Šakan*) and the controller-general of the revenue (*zābil kudūri*). In addition to this, in these later times, the terribly effective system above indicated was put into operation, by virtue of which the flower of the community were deported to some remote region, or more usually distributed among several districts of the vast empire. To take their place, a foreign population was introduced, who might themselves have been the victims of the same radical policy.

§ 289. The effectiveness of this last-named course of treatment depended, of course, upon the energy and thoroughness with which it was administered, but it was begotten of a profound practical foresight of the consequences. In the first place, the sense of nationality as the basis of patriotism could, in no other way, be so surely destroyed. An Oriental community, whether in its elementary state as a tribe, or in its most highly organized form as a monarchy, is a society whose compactness and solidarity depend chiefly upon the continuity of local aggregation. After what has been said earlier (§ 37, 54), there is no need here of demonstrating the inherent necessity of this condition of things; only free, self-governing states can successfully act in concert when not contiguous to one another. It was, indeed, largely this element of local self-government, exceptionally developed among the Jews, which enabled them to preserve their nationality, even in the Babylonian Exile, without a king or a country. Again, it will be remembered that the worship of the Semitic peoples was essentially and primarily local. Not only did each city have its own god, and each state or complex of tribes or cities its own pantheon, with its own predominant deity, but the very existence, or at least the potentiality of each divinity, depended upon the survival of his local seat. Hence, when a community was broken up, detruded from its sphere, scattered among strange lands, it meant that the religion of its people, its original

and strongest bond of union, was annulled and abolished. To the mass of the communities thus subverted by the Assyrians and Chaldæans, the ejection from their ancient seats meant not simply that they were to go and serve other gods, but that in so doing they must *ipso facto* adopt another country as their own. Thus, while, on the one hand, the new Samarians had to learn the ways of the god of the land, the Jews in Babylonia, just because their God was no local deity, but the God of the whole earth, held fast both to their nationality and their religion.

§ 290. I need not enlarge upon the effects of this infliction, this climax of all civic and domestic horrors. But before leaving the general treatment of the subject, it would be well once more to emphasize the permanence and power of the religious motive in all that was done between people and people and nation and nation (cf. § 57 f.). It was the gods of Assyria who were to be chiefly honoured by the triumphs of her arms. Her rulers reigned and waged war in the name, and as the vice-regents, of her deities. Rebels are constantly said to have "broken the oath of the great gods, the gods of the king of Assyria." Delinquents (of the second and third classes described above) are called "sinners," because they were considered, and held themselves (2 K. xviii. 14), to have broken a religious vow. The conflicts were recognized on both sides as being waged between the gods of the respective nations, as the Rabshakeh so forcibly intimated in his subtle address to the people that sat on the wall of Jerusalem; and a failing and faithless nation was regarded as being deserted by its chief deity, as the same accomplished diplomat insinuated was the case with the Jewish king and his doomed dependants (2 K. xviii. 22, 25). It was this consideration that gave the crowning terror and the deadly sting to the system of subversion by deportation; the exiles must make their weary march to a land of strangers, leaving behind them their national and household gods. This policy was the most refined and efficient

product of the political genius of the ancient Semites. It succeeded in its immediate purpose, but all along carried with it and nourished the seeds of its own final destruction. It fulfilled its doom according to the word of the Prophet, spoken in view of the desolation it wrought, of the height to which it raised and the depth to which it hurled those "that made the earth to tremble, that made the kingdoms to quake, that made the world like a wilderness and overthrew the cities thereof, that let not loose the prisoners to their homes" (Isa. xiv.).

§ 291. At the same time, it would be unjust to deny that, in many portions of the empire, certain remedies for great and virulent disorders were wrought by this drastic method of treatment. Chief of them was the quenching, or serious discouragement, among the mixed populations of small neighbouring states, of the ancient feuds that had made them perpetual foes. As an illustration of this one has only to think of the relations existing between the various peoples of Palestine and Syria, after the deportations of so many of their inhabitants, in contrast with the bloody and devastating wars that raged in the times of David or Ahab or Ahaz. Western Asia, under Esarhaddon or Nebuchadrezzar, was a more peaceful country, as well as a safer region for travellers or traders, than it had been before the unification. Nor should it be forgotten that the outcome of the whole system, the establishment of a centralized government, with a due adjustment of functions as between various grades of officials, led to a fuller and surer development of the resources of each district, with greater economy in their utilization and distribution. It also suggested wider and more comprehensive ideas of civil government and the destinies of nations. It gave to many petty communities a notion of the great world outside them. Above all, it prepared the way for the better types of world-empires that succeeded, the last of which was to be the indispensable vehicle for the diffusion of the truth about the world's God and Saviour, and of the

hope of the establishment of a Kingdom that should not be moved.

§ 292. But our principal concern lies with the little kingdoms west of the Jordan. How was this organization, which was to absorb small and great alike, to affect the fortunes of Judah and Israel? Was this nest to be robbed, like all the rest, by the great spoiler, and the unresisting, forsaken little birds, without moving the wing or opening the mouth (Isa. x. 14) to be borne away, never to return, to the branches that had sheltered the parent dove (Ps. lxxiv. 19) so long and so safely? History gives a reply; but the answer would be only half an answer, and the story would be only half told, if we did not, at the same time, listen to the profounder word of Prophecy (§ 13 f.). With what message, and in what spirit, the Prophets intervened, we shall have opportunity to tell when the occasions of their intervention have been more fully unfolded.

§ 293. The condition of Palestine in the middle of the eighth century B.C., and the years immediately following, has already been brought under review. It was not long before the new vicegerent of Asshur made his presence felt in that region, whose distracted condition seemed almost to invite the presence of an arbiter. But the affairs of the West-land were not the first subject that engaged the attention of Tiglathpileser. After seeing order restored in the disaffected and disturbed districts near the capital, he decided that Babylonia should be the scene of his first military operations. In that region, the half-nomadic Aramæan tribes and the small Chaldæan states (§ 223) had been long encroaching from all sides on Central Babylonia, and were probably as obnoxious to the king of Babylon, Nabonassar (747–734), as to the Assyrians. This ruler, who has become famous as the eponym of the era with which the canon of Ptolemy begins, was perhaps friendly to Assyria. Tiglathpileser, five months after his accession (Sept. 745), began his march to the River-land. As far as can be gathered, he confined himself in this

campaign to securing the southern boundary against the Aramæans, and the establishing of strong fortresses for the purpose of overawing the turbulent elements in Babylonia. The leading Aramæan tribes, southeastward of Baghdad on the Tigris, he thoroughly subdued, and followed up the more scattered bands of the same family down that river to the borders of the Gulf. Between the Rivers he seized the city of Sippar, and received propitiatory presents from the priests of Babylon and other rich seats of the great temple-worship, who were doubtless glad enough to welcome the representative of a firm government, as against the rapacious Aramæan and Chaldæan intruders. Two cities were built and fortified at strategic points, and he at once illustrated his favourite policy by colonizing them with the prisoners already taken in war, and forcing them to do garrison service under his lieutenants.[1] Nippur was the southern limit of this expedition, by which he earned the title "king of Shumer and Akkad" (§ 110).

§ 294. The next year (744) witnessed the subjugation of Namar, the mountain-land east of the Lower Zab. Thence his troops proceeded eastward, and received the tribute of many of the Median chiefs, without, however, annexing any of their territory to his empire. His plan was rather, in the meanwhile, to prevent trouble from the side of any of the countries near Assyria, whose permanent reduction and occupation would have involved him in delay and loss, while the more important regions to the far west, which he, like his predecessors, held to be the chief prizes, would remain unsubdued and unprofitable to Asshur. Accordingly, he determined to march at once against the West-land, with the immediate purpose of securing Arpad, the key-city of Syria, then a great fortress about fifteen miles northeast of Aleppo (cf. § 250). In this he seems to have been over-hasty. At any rate, we

[1] Lay. 17, 4–7; II R. 67, 5–13; cf. C^b for 745 B.C.

find, according to the notice in the Eponym Canon, that, while Arpad was still the centre of operations, he came in conflict with the Armenians, whose forces he defeated. His own inscriptions give some details, according to which it would appear that a great league was formed against him, composed of Armenia, still a power of wide-reaching influence (cf. § 256), and its tributary or allied states. The decisive conflicts took place in Kommagene, and the campaign ended in a complete defeat of the northern confederates, with the result that the first serious check was put upon the ambitious career of the rulers of the land of the Lakes. It is noteworthy, as illustrating the main purpose of Tiglathpileser, that we find him engaged in and about Arpad for the next three years (743–740). The endurance of this city against the victorious forces of the great conqueror reminds one of the similar heroism displayed by Damascus (§ 251). It was finally taken, and thenceforward it was used as a vantage-ground for the subjection both of Syria on the south, and of the Cilicians, Hettites, and Cappadocians on the north, who, no doubt, kept all his available forces busy during the siege. The fall of Arpad was followed by the subjection of these powerful communities. After some little further resistance from the half-Hettite district west of the Orontes, the whole of Northern Syria was formally incorporated into the empire, and furnished with a regular administration. These matters occupied the year 739.

§ 295. In Israel and Judah, whose fortunes were to be so vitally affected by these movements of the Assyrian armies, there seems to have been but one class of men who estimated the events of the times at anything like their permanent and essential value. These were the Prophets. The importance of their writings as sources of information and means of historic classification has already been alluded to (§ 13 f.). It will now be necessary to note carefully their attitude towards the several active elements in the impending revolution, as well as their

ideas upon the moral and political issues involved in the struggle. All attentive Bible readers have noticed that the rise of written Prophecy was coincident with the appearance of the Assyrians upon the national horizon of Judah and Israel. We have now seen enough of the predetermining occasions of Prophecy to learn that this was much more than a mere coincidence. There was no interrupting chasm between unwritten and written Prophecy; the fundamental message of Elijah and Elisha was the same as that delivered by Joel and Amos, Isaiah and Micah,— the moral necessity of the recognition and pure worship of Jehovah, and of the practical fulfilment of the law of righteousness, which was the essence of his character. The difference between the two was that the form and content of the message, in the case of the latter class, were broader and deeper than in that of the former; the examples and the lessons of their teaching were not merely of national, but of international, or, rather, of world-wide, significance and applicability.

§ 296. The interest of the Prophets in political and social affairs, whether domestic or foreign, was secondary and indirect, but necessarily very keen and constant. The moral conduct and spiritual temper of the people, while matters of individual responsibility, were affected in a thousand different ways by external influences; and, in the period of transition to written Prophecy, occasions and inducements of actions which demanded public recognition and comment became much more numerous and complicated. The principal of these have already been indicated in another connection (§ 271). Government, in the old days, had been a very simple matter, transacted mainly by the elders at the city gates, while the king and his modest court officials contented themselves with the care of the national defence, and the collection and administration of the revenue necessary for that prime purpose. But in the era which began with "the house of Omri" in Israel, a change gradually but surely took place,

due to the more complex relations resulting from an extension of commerce, international entanglements, and the influence of extra-Israelitish manners and worship upon the simple habits and faith of a race of agriculturists and shepherds. Judah was slower in coming under the new order of things; but before the end of the reign of Uzziah it presented, as we have seen, the same aspect as did the Northern Kingdom, and was largely under the control of the same dangerous elements. The principal evils which the Prophets sought to counteract were such as, in every age, have threatened the stability and welfare of all states that have been founded in justice, temperance, and the fear of God, and have had a strong access of material prosperity; they were the familiar and fashionable vices of greed, dishonesty, sensuality, along with the less vulgar sins of frivolity and impiety. It was the external occasions provocative of such iniquities, that justified the interference of the Prophets in public affairs: corruption in high places, oppression of the poor, relaxing of the social bond through class distinctions and jealousies, an increasing tendency to centralization and despotism in the government, and, darkening all, the black shadow of strange worship, with its seductions and abominations.

§ 297. The essential elements of Israel's salvation, according to the Prophets, whose work and word were devoted to their conservation and development, were, accordingly, these two: holiness and morality; the former consisting in the pure worship of Jehovah, and the latter, its inseparable accompaniment, resting upon the practical fulfilling of his will. And as soon as the national existence became visibly dependent upon foreign entanglements, and the national worship likely to be debased by the introduction of strange deities, the question of outside influences became one of vital importance to the spokesmen of Jehovah. Moreover, the subject of international relations kept continually growing in importance until

it assumed an illimitable moral magnitude, with the threatened absorption of Israel into the great world-grasping empire of Assyria. The chosen people were to be led to see that Jehovah was not only the God of Israel but the God of the whole world; and that while he had, in a special sense, known them only of all the families of the earth, he had also determined the place and the history of the nations with whose fortunes their own were inseparably intertwined. Thus he had indeed brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, but had likewise brought the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramæans from Kir (Amos ix. 7; cf. § 3). And while the nation which was overturning the kingdoms and making the earth desolate was seeking to subject everything to Asshur, Jehovah was controlling its destiny also, and making it the instrument of his purpose (Is. x. 5 ff.). The word of Jehovah to the Prophets was therefore fraught with a universality, as well as an infinite depth of meaning, that made it a message for all peoples, the interpreter of History for all the ages, and, at the same time, the proclamation of the birth-time of a new spiritual world.

§ 298. Now this function of Prophecy, as "the teaching" *par excellence* (Isa. xlii. 21), whereby Jehovah's people should learn of his ways towards them and towards the nations, brought the Prophets into an attitude of divided interest with relation to present and impending struggles. And the significance of their utterances for the understanding of this whole period lies chiefly in a twofold excitation and direction of their sympathies and efforts, as they insisted that subjection to the great despoiler of the nations was to be dreaded, and yet that it was necessary. On the one hand, a closer *rapprochement* with any foreign country in any form, and especially with the most influential of all the nations, was to be deprecated as the worst possible calamity, and that for many reasons, which now require little explanation. The social fabric would be still further undermined by reason

of more intimate association with foreign modes of thought and living, and contact with them at more numerous points. The simple society of Israel would be broken up completely under the influence of autocratic and aristocratic pride, which would set the fashion for the rulers and grandees, as well as determine the tendency of Israel's laws and customs; and class distinctions, which already portended a social revolution, would be developed to a degree that would destroy the basis of the national weal. More than anything else, it was civil quietude and domestic contentment that furnished the outward conditions of religious and moral steadfastness and progress. The foundation of society was the old agricultural life, with its "homely joys and destiny obscure," its frugality and individual independence. Assimilation, from any cause, with the trading nations round about, would tend to foster the commercial spirit and dislodge, debase, and disfranchise the tillers of the soil. Absorption in the great Assyrian empire would mean the unification of Israel with the other subject states, and the destruction of the distinctive features of its national and social life.

§ 299. But, most of all was the loss of Israel's autonomy to be dreaded because of the dependence of the national existence upon the purity of faith and worship. It is now a familiar idea to us (see especially § 58), that, among the ancient Semites, the worship of the national deity was the bond of national unity, and that this, in its turn, was conditioned upon the maintenance of the national life and prosperity. And it followed from this universally recognized principle, that a mixture or assimilation, on any considerable scale, of two or more peoples, involved to a corresponding extent a syncretism of their respective cults, and practically of their religious beliefs; that even the vassalage of one nation to another brought with it at least an outward acknowledgment of the gods of the suzerain; and that the extinction of one nationality by another had for its result the effacement of the conquered

religion.[1] These considerations throw a flood of light for us upon the attitude and teaching of the Prophets of the Assyrian and Chaldæan times. The worship of Jehovah must, in their view, be maintained, not only as the foundation of moral order and social security, but also as the most vital and cardinal principle of the national life, and the most essential condition of the national existence. And loyalty to Jehovah, and obedience to his will, were fettered and imperilled if tribute and homage were to be paid to other nations, which was the same thing as rendering them to other and strange gods. We now see clearly of what consequence the aims and measures of the new Assyrian empire (§ 282) were to the heroic souls that agonized in thought and speech for the survival of the feeble and struggling nation of Israel and of the faith of Jehovah as its only hope. To accept help from Assyria against a dreaded foe was, in the popular view, to enjoy the favour and protection of the Assyrian gods; to become tributary to Assyria was to render homage to the same deities, with the inducement to combine their worship with that of Jehovah; to be annexed to Assyria, as the penalty of rebellion and defiance, while, in the view of the conquerors, it was the just punishment of sin against Asshur, would be held, by them and the conquered alike, to imply the defeat and dethronement of the God of Israel. True it is, that the Prophets themselves, and a small faithful remnant, knew better the nature of Jehovah; and that their work and teaching, combined with the discipline of calamity and mourning, resulted in the triumph of a surer faith in his universal Godhead and providence, in

[1] This principle explains Hos. x. 5 f.: "The inhabitants of Samaria shall be in trepidation for the calf-god of Beth-aven (Bethel); her people are in grief, and her priests begin to tremble because of its glory which has gone away from her into exile; it, too, shall be carried into Assyria as an offering to the Great King." The word for "carry" here is connected with the Assyrian *biltu* "tribute." The Inscriptions abound in passages telling how the kings of Asshur despoil the conquered peoples of their dethroned and superseded deities. Cf. 2 Sam. v. 21; Isa. xlvi. 1 f.

the heart of a restored and purified Israel. But they knew also that the belief and fidelity of a small minority could not weigh against the prejudices, passions, and interests of the ignorant majority, with the rulers and nobles at their head, who believed practically in the god that was on the side of the strongest battalions; and they rightly anticipated the influx of social and moral evils that would come with the Assyrians into the land. Hence, they took their stand for the ancient principle, which to them had all the force of a theocratic maxim, that Israel, God's peculiar possession, should dwell by itself among the nations (Deut. xxxiii. 28; cf. Num. xxiii. 9). The time might indeed come (as it actually did come) when it would be the part of wisdom and true patriotism to rest quietly under the yoke of the foreign tyrant; but this was to be urged on the ground that resistance would be useless, and that failure would result in the final destruction of the state and of the national worship.

§ 300. But there was another side to this whole question of international relations. While the Prophets recognized it to be the ideal of Israel's destiny that it should dwell apart from what was unclean and unholy, they knew well that that had rarely been Israel's lot in the past, and they were not deceived into thinking that the future would bring the needed isolation and renovation. Nor did they dream that the divided Israel was strong enough to subdue its hereditary foes, or the mightier armies of the Great King. Much less was it possible that the holy remnant in Israel, who struggled in vain against the corruptions of their own people, could make the law of Jehovah prevail among the nations before the glorious day of the Messiah should come, whose rays had only begun to dawn upon the dark political horizon. The prospect of the realization of the old ideal of freedom and righteousness was dimmed, even in the prosperous times that followed the decline of Syria, by forebodings of national distress, that was to culminate in the most dreaded of all calamities, — captivity and exile.

§ 301. There is no word in the language of the Hebrews more full of tragic suggestiveness than the word for exile (שִׁבוּת). The pathetic associations of banishment, the same in all ages to lovers of home and country, have been commemorated for us by the most illustrious exile of his time: —

> Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
> Più caramente; e questo è quello strale
> Che l' arco dell' esilio pria saetta.
> Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
> Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
> Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale.
> Et quel che più ti graverà le spalle,
> Sara la compagnia malvagia e scempia,
> Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle.[1]

Through such associations it came to signify misery and misfortune in general (Job xlii. 10; Ezek. xvi. 53), having thus passed through a development of meaning exactly like that of the German *Elend*.[2] Patriotic and religious souls, feeling so keenly the need of isolated freedom, looked back upon the bondage of Egypt as the one extreme type of distress and humiliation in the past; and as misfortunes were now coming thickly upon Israel, each of them was a foretaste and partial experience of "captivity," suggesting the awful dread that the national life might yet be extinguished in a wholesale subjugation and oppression, like that which preceded and conditioned the nation's birth.

§ 302. The Prophet Amos already uses the phrase with a significance and emphasis which the circumstances can be made to justify only when we interpret them in the light of this larger suggestion. Speaking and working for the northern kingdom, but keeping his own people of Judah also in mind, he has rankling within him the fresh recollection of the cruelty of the Tyrian and Philistian slave-hunters. But he broadens the circle of his observa-

[1] Dante, *Paradiso*, xvii, 55–63.

[2] Old German *elilenti*, Anglo-Saxon *eleland*, "another land."

tion, and his historic retrospect and prospect. The Aramæans of Damascus are now brought forward as the chief oppressors of God's people, and with them are arraigned the Edomites and Ammonites. But he goes decisively beyond these peoples also, and declares that what Israel had suffered from them, lamentable and serious as it was, should, under the divine appointment, be followed by a devastation of the whole country, and an actual deportation of its inhabitants, who were to "go into captivity beyond Damascus" (v. 27; cf. vi. 14; iv. 2 f.; vi. 7; vii. 17; ix. 4, 8 f.). Thus we have the fateful Assyrians, not indeed mentioned by name, yet unmistakably alluded to. And what is most remarkable, as an evidence of the Prophet's foresight, he predicts the triumph of the empire of the Tigris over all the western nations, at a time (c. 765) when not only was Israel at the height of its power,[1] but Assyria was more depressed than it had been for over a hundred years, and had enough to do to preserve its own autonomy (§ 257 f.).

§ 303. But the Prophets regarded these movements, whether impending or in progress, as having less political than religious import. Their patriotism received its chief inspiration from the thought that their people was the people of the living God; and even the outward preservation of Israel became to them of less consequence than their fidelity to Jehovah. God's righteousness was the principle for which they stood; and that must be vindicated whatever should become of the nation which alone he had known among the families of the earth. If the holy people should be holy only in their name and election, and refuse to conform to the will of their Covenant God in its manifest requirements, that vindication must still take place in the punishment of those who were guilty of such gross infidelity. They chose to serve other gods in the holy land, but their fate must be to serve them rather in unholy ("unclean") lands, where both the worship and

[1] Cf. Green, *Moses and the Prophets*, p. 347 f.

the presence of Jehovah were unknown (Amos vii. 17; Hos. ix. 3 f.). Banishment and captivity were, therefore, the just and necessary meed of punishment for sins which the righteous God of Israel could not tolerate, and which the Prophets spent their lives in denouncing and combating.

§ 304. The issues were made clearer as the motives of the action were gradually developed and the actors began to come upon the arena. Thus, while Amos dwells upon the idea of exile for Israel, he, as already said, does not name that great empire, within whose ample territory the deported Hebrews should find their place of banishment. Hosea, his next successor in the northern kingdom, finds himself at the inauguration of the new Assyrian régime, when Tiglathpileser, victorious over the Armenians and Northern Syria, appears on the borders of Palestine. The author of Zech. ix. ff. watches the same movements on behalf of the kingdom of Judah, and foresees that kingdom as already under Assyrian dominion. But we must not anticipate the historical relations of these and subsequent Prophets, whose utterances we cannot appreciate till we have seen the development of the Assyrian policy in the West-land. We shall now, therefore, return to the scene of military operations in Northern Syria.

CHAPTER V

NORTHERN ISRAEL A VASSAL TO ASSYRIA

§ 305. Our sketch of the progress of Tiglathpileser in his career of western conquest was interrupted (§ 294) at the point of time when he had received the homage of Northern Syria, after his subjugation of Arpad, and had organized all that region under Assyrian administration. The eighth year of his reign (738) witnessed the taking of a decisive step in his conquest of the West-land. The chief obstacle in his march southward was offered by the powerful state formed under the hegemony of Hamath. Over the region thereby included he claimed jurisdiction, on the ground of the conquests of Rammān-nirārī III, made over forty years before, and held a few years longer on precarious tenure by his feeble successors (§ 250, 257 f.). Surprisingly enough, the present movement of the Assyrian invader is found, according to the generally accepted interpretation of a fragmentary inscription, to bring him directly into conflict with the kingdom of Judah.

§ 306. From the hints given us in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser himself, and the notices contained in the Bible, it is possible for us to form a fairly correct conception of the condition of affairs in Palestine at this juncture. The rapidly changing fortunes of its leading states at this time are suggestive of an historical kaleidoscope. Jeroboam II, the restorer of Israel's power aud prestige, had been but a few years dead, and his dominions had shrunk away under the anarchy and misrule that followed his death (§ 267), to the limits of the realm controlled by the

founder of his dynasty. Menahem, who now sat upon the throne of Samaria, had a heavy task to maintain his usurped authority, which he was unable fully to do, even after he had adopted measures of extreme rigour and barbarity against those who refused their allegiance (2 K. xv. 16). His kingdom, instead of forming a barrier to the threatened invasion of the Assyrians, was rather in a condition to invite their approach and intervention. But Judah, which had become, through the energy and military genius of Uzziah (§ 268), a truly formidable power, was now, in the closing days of his reign, in a position to which it had never before attained, and which it was not long to occupy. A decisive proof of the justness of this estimate is apparently furnished by a fragment of the annals of Tiglathpileser. After the taking of Arpad, and while the states of Northern Syria were being reduced and organized, Hamath and its subject cities became convinced of their own imminent danger. They looked for aid to the lands as yet unsubdued, and sought protection from the most powerful ruler of the West, Uzziah, king of Judah.

§ 307. The course of events is obscure until the arrival of Tiglathpileser at the border of Israel. Whatever may have been the part played by Uzziah, his allies in Northern and Middle Syria received no benefit from their treaty with him, and were speedily brought to subjection. After an enumeration of the various districts by name and locality, the annals of the king, under the year 738, sum up the results of this campaign as follows:[1] "Nineteen districts belonging to Hamath, with their circumjacent towns lying along the shore of the Western Sea, which in sinfulness (cf. § 290) and vileness had allied themselves[2] to Azariah, I restored to the territory of the land of

[1] So I translate III R. 9, 30 ff.

[2] The much-disputed word *ekīmu*, I take to be for *ikīmu*, from a root כים, to "combine, associate." Cf. *kīmu*, "family," etc. No good sense can be got from אכם, to "take, seize."

Asshur; my governors and administrators I set over them." The description shows that the newly annexed territory[1] stretched from Hamath westward to the sea, and included the southerly slopes of Mount Amanus, the northerly declivities of Lebanon, and the country lying between. This was an important step towards the conquest of the rest of Syria and Palestine, and the exclusion of Egypt from all share in Asiatic affairs. The similar conquests made already (§ 227, 250) had been lost to Assyria. Now Tiglathpileser takes care that the land, with its abundant forests, its strong fortresses, and its varied resources, should be secured perpetually; and he puts in practice his system of deportation and repopulation, whose effectiveness he had already proved in the east and north. Accordingly, we learn that 30,300 captives, taken in his other wars, were settled in the old domain of Hamath, and that many of the native inhabitants were transferred to Ulluba, in Cappadocia, whither, according to the Eponym Canon, one of his main expeditions of 739 had been directed. It is further detailed how the annexed districts were administered as part of the Assyrian empire. What immediately preceded the conquest and annexation of these cities of Middle Syria is not so easily made out. The brief phrases which appear plainly here and there in the mutilated lines that introduce the report of the subjugation of the territory of Hamath, seem to support the view that Judah had been exercising a protectorate over the nineteen districts. Other portions of Syria seem also to have sought his protection; but they were overawed by the pomp and tumult of the Assyrian army on the march and the destruction already effected by it. Their forces submitted with little or no resistance, in order to escape annihilation, their chief cities being then razed and devastated. The Hamathæans, who were in treaty with Azariah, encouraged him to take the lead in resisting further aggression. Whether he succeeded or not we do not as

[1] Among the districts is mentioned Hadrach (§ 258).

yet fully know; but it seems likely that he did, and that an army sent by him to co-operate with the beleaguered districts was driven back, hemmed in by the troops of Asshur, and forced to surrender.[1]

§ 308. Uzziah (Azariah) was then in the very latest days of his life, and Jotham was acting as regent (2 K. xv. 5), and directing all military movements, though apparently not determining the national policy. The effect of the campaign of 738 upon the fortunes of Judah must have been disastrous. Whatever opinion we may be inclined to hold as to the active part taken by the Southern Kingdom, it is clear that its prestige was broken, and its acknowledged hegemony among the Western states brought to an end. Henceforth we know it as an isolated principality, "powerless to succour a friend or ward off an enemy." Jotham's separate reign lasted but two or three years at the longest (§ 269); then the weak and vacillating Ahaz (735–715?) followed the example of the Northern Kingdom and threw itself into the arms of the Assyrians.

§ 309. Have we any record or monument of this disaster in the Hebrew literature? The histories do not mention it, either directly or by suggestion. This in itself would not be very surprising, for they have omitted many momentous matters otherwise well attested. But what the histories leave unchronicled is usually noticed by the Prophets, who had a keener interest in politics than contemporary annalists or later compilers. Prophecy, however, makes no obvious allusion to this supposed event. Yet it is possible that it may have formed one of the occasions of the opening discourse of Isaiah, "the great arraignment," which may then, after all, not be out of chronological order. Verses 7–9 seem to describe a pressing national danger and a serious loss of territory, and the chapter has therefore been assigned by many to the period

[1] This seems to be the best sense that can be made out of the second annalistic fragment in III R. 9. For an entirely different view of the whole matter, see Note 9 in the Appendix.

of Sinacherib's invasion, thirty-seven years later. It is, however, generally admitted that the situation pictured in the passage in question is more or less idealized; and if it is not thought necessary to place it at the very late date referred to, there is no reason why it should not be located in the beginning of Isaiah's prophetic career, to which in all other respects it is better suited. It would thus have been composed about the end of the reign of Jotham,[1] which followed quickly upon the death of Uzziah. We have, therefore, to look for an historical situation such as might naturally have suggested the gloomy diagnosis of Judah's political condition (v. 7, 9) made by the great pathologist of the Jewish state. It may very well have been that the isolation of Judah effected by the triumph of Tiglathpileser, formed the basis of the culminating thought contained in v. 8: "And the daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a vineyard, as a lodging-place in a cucumber garden, as a beleaguered city." The whole passage should thus be interpreted as a forecast of future calamities coloured by a national misfortune, whose results were making themselves felt in national depression and impotence. A similar situation presents itself in ch. v. 25, which must be held to be also, at least partly, predictive, and to describe calamities of which the people had already had a foretaste in the defeat of their army by the Assyrians, and their exclusion from outside affairs. The isolation of Judah was seen to be henceforth complete, and, however desirable this might be in peaceful and prosperous times (§ 298 f.), it was now to be deplored as one of the symptoms of the disease that threatened to lead to the dissolution of the body politic.

§ 310. Judah is not mentioned again in the recovered inscriptions of Tiglathpileser, but the sister kingdom is frequently alluded to. The statements in his annals next

[1] This date is preferred by Driver, on different grounds; see *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 19 f. So also Gesenius, Delitzsch, and Dillmann.

in order do not, however, give all the information we need, even at this earlier stage of contact. We are told by him, in the closing portion of his report for 738 B.C., that he received the tribute of a large number of states, which were in the meantime not formally annexed. They range all the way from Cappadocia to Palestine, and in the number we find the name of "Menahem, king of Samaria." Among the multifarious operations of himself and his generals, the details of his transactions with this Israelitish prince are omitted; but we can supply an important element in the story from the Biblical record. We read (2 K. xv. 19 f.): "Then came Pul, king of Assyria, against the land, and Menahem gave to Pul a thousand talents of silver that his power might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his power. And Menahem assessed the money upon Israel, upon all the freeholders, so that they should give to the king of Assyria each man fifty shekels of silver. And the king of Assyria turned back and did not remain there in the land." We learn from this what the annals of the king do not inform us, that the great invader made, at least, a threatening descent upon the borders of Israel. In all probability he had intended to strike at the whole north of Palestine, for his annals mention the names of "Rezon, king of Damascus," and "Hirom, king of Tyre," as his tributaries also, and they would seem to have purchased a reprieve in the same manner as Israel did. We get further an illustration of the process by which the principalities within reach of Assyrian aggression were gradually reduced, so that their ultimate submission was rapidly accelerated. The money was raised in this case (and the same principle was doubtless in force in the other threatened kingdoms) from the independent property-owners, who were liable to serve in war, but whose service might be commuted by a money payment, as the king's due in time of need. The withdrawal of a million and a half of dollars from a petty kingdom like Israel, already pretty well depleted by the

ravages of domestic strife, must have brought it to the verge of exhaustion; and this was only the first instalment! This amount of booty, so promptly acquired, may suggest to us what an enormous treasure must have been accumulated by the later kings of Assyria and Babylonia, in their countless levies upon a host of nations in the richest portion of the world (Isa. xlv. 3).

§ 311. With this invasion of the borders of Israel, and the bargain made on such favourable terms with King Menahem, the Great King appears to have suspended for a season his operations in the West-land. The gains he had made in these four years were large and substantial. Besides the subjection and partial annexation of the more northerly kingdoms in Cilicia and Cappadocia, he subdued and brought under organized Assyrian rule all of Northern and Middle Syria, and laid the kingdom of Damascus, as well as Israel and the leading Phœnician cities, under heavy bonds to keep the Asiatic peace, as the vassals of Asshur. He had made a long stride towards Egypt, and was soon to make a much longer one. Affairs in the East claimed his attention more pressingly, however, and so we find him for the next three years absent from the Mediterranean coastland. In 737 he describes himself as busied with the more thorough conquest of Media, which he ravaged from the borders of Armenia on the north to the territory of Babylonia on the south. Besides fighting, plundering, and ravaging, he "annexed huge districts of Media to the realm of Asshur," and settled them with colonies of prisoners taken in other wars.[1] The two following years (736 and 735) were chiefly occupied with a prolonged and determined enterprise directed against Armenia. The defeat sustained by the daring soldiers of this formidable rival in 745 (§ 294) had pre-

[1] C^b for 737. This notice, as given in KAT², p. 486 (Engl. tr. II, p. 194 f.), is to be corrected to read "to Media" (*a-na Mad-ai*). The annalistic narrative is given in Lay. 67, 5 ff., 68, which continues III R. 9 Nr. 3. A summary of the conquest is also given in II R. 67, 29–42.

vented any further aggression from the north; but Tiglathpileser now sought to make the ambitious kingdom forever innocuous. The expedition culminated, after repeated defeats of the Armenians within their own boundaries, in the investment of Turushpa (the modern Van). But as this fortress was, by its situation, impregnable, he was fain to content himself with setting up his own statue before the city gates. The annexation of large districts westward to the borders of Cappadocia, lately under the sway of the kingdom of the Lakes, proved that this symbol of victory meant much more than a temporary triumph.

§ 312. His hands were now free to undertake the complete subjugation of the West-land, and in 734 he made Palestine itself the scene of his operations. We get our best view of the condition of the peoples of this region during the intervening three years from the interpreting voice of Hebrew Prophecy. The principal part of the Book of Hosea (ch. iv.–xiv.) was written about this time, and it has mostly to do with Israel's moral and political conduct during the brief period of reprieve from Assyrian invasion. To one who reads it with an open eye, it is full of allusions to that world-conquering power and its control of the destiny of Israel. A quarter of a century had passed since Amos had uttered his words of warning, with a thinly veiled announcement of the revival of the Assyrian empire and its consequences to the chosen people. And Hosea himself, in his earlier discourse (ch. i.–iii.), written about 748 B.C., while Jeroboam was still alive (i. 4), reiterates the prediction of Israel's captivity in more explicit language (iii. 4 f.). The watchful Prophet now saw that both inner motives and motives extraneous to Israel were conspiring to bring on a conflict between his own country and Assyria, in which the smaller kingdom would be shattered and destroyed; that Jehovah was preparing, for the spiritual and moral disaffection which demanded chastisement, an adequate scourge in the irresistible army of Tiglathpileser.

§ 313. We learn from Hosea (vii. 11; xii. 1; cf. vii. 8) that there was at least a portion of his people who looked to Egypt for their deliverance, and had entreated its intervention. The fact that the Prophet refers so little to this diplomatic movement is proof of its subordinate importance. Since the unsuccessful invasion in the time of Asa (§ 215), Egypt had not intermeddled in the affairs of Palestine. Who the ruling power in Egypt at this date was is uncertain. It was now the closing period of the twenty-third Dynasty, and a king, named Zet by Manetho, but as yet unknown from the monuments, was ruling in Tanis (Zoan). But at Sais another dynasty (the twenty-fourth) was in force; and the Ethiopian, which was soon to absorb them all (the twenty-fifth Dynasty), was making itself felt as an independent power. It is evident from this outline statement alone, that resort to Egypt was likely to meet with but little practical response; and, in fact, Hosea tells his people that they would become an object of scorn to their expected ally (vii. 16); the refugees who should seek shelter there would only be adding a few more graves to the sepulchral monuments of the great necropolis at Memphis (ix. 6).

§ 314. To Assyria, however, the country had been already mortgaged, and the creditor was one not apt to restrict himself to what was nominated in the bond. Hosea evidently regards its fate as already sealed: Ephraim "is crushed in judgment" (*i.e.* war, v. 11); "strangers have devoured his strength" (vii. 9); "Israel is swallowed up; now are they among the nations as a vessel which none desires" (viii. 8); "I will send a fire among his cities, and it shall devour the palaces thereof" (viii. 14); "Ephraim shall bring out his children to the slayer" (ix. 13); "all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle"[1] (x. 14); "over night shall

[1] A king of Moab, mentioned by Tiglathpileser III as one of his tributaries (II R. 67, 60), bore the name *Salamānu*, which is exactly the name before us. "Beth-arbel" may represent Arbela (the modern Irbid), east of the Jordan, near Pella. See KAT², p. 440 ff. and cf. § 337.

the king of Israel be utterly cut off" (x. 15). Thus disaster and ruin are doubly linked with Assyria; it was the appeal to Assyria that brought on their present desperate situation, and the end would be that Assyria should root them out of their sacred land and disperse them over its wide domain: "When Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah his wound, then went Ephraim unto Assyria and sent to the Great King,[1] but he is not able to heal you, neither shall he cure you of your wound" (v. 13). "Ephraim was like a silly dove without understanding; they called unto Egypt, they went unto Assyria" (vii. 11). "They went up (*i.e.* inland) to Assyria like a wild ass (cf. Ishmael in Gen. xvi. 12) alone by himself" (viii. 9). "They shall not dwell (any longer) in Jehovah's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt (as fugitives), and they shall eat unclean food (see § 299) in Assyria" (ix. 3). "They shall be wanderers among the nations" (ix. 17). They would be compelled not only to forego their boasted worship of Jehovah, in strange lands, but would even have to renounce it, as the condition of vassalage to Assyria: "The inhabitants of Samaria shall be in dismay for the Calf (LXX) of Beth-aven; for her people shall grieve over it, and her priests shall shriek over it, because of its glory, for it is gone away from her into exile. It, too, shall be borne to Assyria as a present to the Great King" (cf. § 299). Of late they had had rulers of a certain kind in abundance, and had secured at a great sacrifice the neutrality or protection of Assyria; but now they were losing them almost as fast as they were raised up (xiii. 10 f.; cf. Zech. xi. 8), and they would soon be deprived not only of allies, but of both king and nobles altogether: "Yea, though they hire (allies) among the nations, now will I restrain them, and they will cease for a little from anointing a king and princes (viii. 10, LXX). Such was the political and religious outlook of Israel, according to Hosea, writing towards the close of the reign of Menahem, at a time when

[1] See Note 10 in Appendix.

the futility of the Assyrian negotiations was beginning to be apparent, and the causes of internal decay, long working in the nation, were, to the Prophet at least, fast bringing it to ruin.

§ 315. Another observer, of about the same time, whose prophetic utterances have come down to us in juxtaposition with the writings of Zechariah (Zech. ix.–xi.), has also a good deal to say of the revolution to be brought about in Palestine and Syria through the Assyrians. Belonging as he did to the Southern Kingdom, which had not as yet suffered direct invasion, his allusions to particular events are less specific, and his language being also somewhat vague and symbolical, interpreters have found it difficult to agree as to the date of the Prophecy.[1] All of the historical references, however, can be explained from the history of these times. The anonymous Prophet sees the cities of Phœnicia and of the Philistines sharing the fate of Northern and Middle and Southern Syria, represented by Hadrach, Hamath, and Damascus (ix. 1–8). The oaks of Lebanon and the cedars of Bashan are laid low by a sudden desolating storm (xi. 1, 2), and, as is next described, in language still more figurative, Ephraim, in which anarchy had so prevailed that three of its rulers ("shepherds") had been cut off in one month (cf. 2 K. xv. 13?), was to be smitten in its length and breadth; and the alliance between Israel and Judah, which had been the prophetic ideal for an invincible theocratic kingdom (x. 6; cf. Hos. i. 11, E.V.), should be broken (xi. 3–14), and a "frivolous ruler" should succeed, who was to devour the substance of the people (xi. 15–17).

§ 316. We shall now see how the facts of History accord with the previsions of Prophecy. In Israel, important changes had taken place between Tiglathpileser's two great expeditions to the West. Menahem had died, apparently by a natural death, after a brief reign. His son Pekahiah (736–735 B.C.) found the people still discon-

[1] See Note 11 in Appendix.

tented, and, in little over a year, the general of the army, Pekah, at the head of a small band of Gileadites forming a detachment of the body-guard, came upon him suddenly in his own palace, and put an end to his life and reign. The successor was, of course, Pekah (735–733). He was an enterprising ruler, and was firmly of the conviction that a new policy was needed, if Israel was to regain its old-time position. He felt that the unaccustomed vassalage, under which the state had been brought by Menahem, should come to an end and the exhausting tribute-paying be stopped. Damascus had then a ruler like-minded with Pekah, and the two sought to form a league among the Western states for defence against the common despoiler, whose vengeance they had to expect as the consequence of defiance. Judah, now coming under the influence of Isaiah, refused to join the combination, and the northern confederates, who, in any case, desired an opportunity to humble their superior, Judah, made common cause against their dissident neighbour, with a view to his complete subjugation (cf. § 270).

CHAPTER VI

VASSALAGE OF JUDAH AND THE PROPHETIC INTERVENTION

§ 317. As already mentioned (§ 270), the death of Jotham (c. 735) in early manhood left the settlement of this deplorable strife to his successor, Ahaz (735–715?), who came to the throne a mere youth (Isa. iii. 4, 12). The reign of Ahaz formed a turning-point in the history of Judah in more than one way. Looking backward for a moment, we see that the reforms under Jehoash (§ 254) had given consistency and definiteness to the official worship, as well as to the religious life of the people; and these advantages were maintained during the three following reigns, in spite of the unsettling influences flowing from the changing political and social conditions (§ 296). In the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, outward prosperity seemed to guarantee the conservation of those religious interests so vitally connected with the development and perpetuation of the theocratic state; but it was, in reality, the cause which contributed most largely to corruption and degeneracy in worship and morals.

§ 318. We have the whole inner history of the time set forth by one who lived in it, and gave himself to its study and interpretation with matchless insight and energy of soul. The critical three years from the last of Uzziah to the first of Ahaz formed the first period of Isaiah's prophetic career, and the subject of the first section of his Prophecy. And he has analyzed the temper and tendencies of the Jerusalem of that date with such an absolute mastery

of all the issues involved, that his discourses remain not only an unrivalled piece of classic literature, but the best manual of the principles of moral sociology ever given to the world. The arena was small enough, — the capital of one of the least of the many states that were, one after another, most surely losing their autonomy and being drawn into the ever-widening maw of Assyria. But the principles were eternal; for Jehovah had been the Father and the Founder of the nation. And the issues were infinite; for, by the exemplary doom of Judah and Jerusalem, pure worship and simple faith were to be vindicated as the essential and indispensable basis of righteousness and moral soundness, and these again as the only possible conditions of national weal and endurance. Such fundamental axioms of Jehovah's rule on earth were finally to be acknowledged by all the nations which should come streaming to Jerusalem, to be taught of his ways and to learn to walk in his paths; for out of Zion should go forth his teaching and his word from Jerusalem (ii. 1–3); his arbitration should take the place of war with its desolations and woes, and the light of his countenance should approve the universal peace and gladden the happy peoples. Such was the ideal, which could be realized if the house of Judah would but walk under such an illumining (ii. 4, 5).[1] But the practical sense of this most idealistic of the early Prophets forbids a long sojourn in this inspiring Utopia. He has to do with Jerusalem as it is, the Jerusalem of Uzziah, Jotham, and, alas, of Ahaz (ii. 6 ff.).

§ 319. It was indeed a critical time for Judah and the theocracy, and no one knew so well as Isaiah the danger and the consequences of an evil policy in church and state. Powerful as Isaiah was — and no subject of the realm was as influential as he, by virtue of his social position, his abilities, his claims, and his resolute faith — he was ter-

[1] Isa. ii. 2–5 are, I would suggest, a continuation of ch. i. by Isaiah himself. Ch. ii. 1, an interruption, is an addition, apparently, by the hand which wrote Mic. i. 1.

ribly crippled by his environment and the character of his principal associates. His great practical aim, to secure a reformation of worship and manners, which he had conceived during the closing years of the reign of Uzziah, was early shown to be impracticable on a large scale, on account of the moral blindness, grossness, and dulness of the people (vi. 9 f.); and the task must have come to appear still more difficult when the brief reign of Jotham was followed by the accession of the unsympathetic, headstrong, and voluptuous Ahaz. How indispensable it was to him to secure the co-operation of the head of the state, appears from the fact that, with marvellous persistency and skill, he succeeded in winning the confidence, some years later, of the heir to the throne, who has come to be known in history as Hezekiah the Reformer. And how he laboured to lead Ahaz himself into the right course we see illustrated in the seventh chapter of his Prophecy. Ahaz, however, must not be considered as standing alone in his spirit of impiety and disregard of the exclusive claims of Jehovah. Evil as his reign was, rivalling with its impure worship (2 K. xvi. 4) and its adoption of foreign religious customs (xvi. 10 ff.) the worst of the reigns of the northern kingdom, and even going beyond them in the encouragement of cruel superstition (xvi. 3), we may well believe that he was head of a large and influential party, who were only too willing to follow him. It was, alas, true that, even in Judah, a good king had to withstand the temper and prejudices of the multitude, while a bad one found support and applause in any excess of moral or religious transgression. Isaiah himself has very fully described the character and tastes of the ruling classes in and about Jerusalem; and the terrible picture of vice and infidelity drawn by his contemporary, Micah, portrays not only the character of Israel alone, but that of Judah as well, which had made itself an apt pupil in the school of the House of Omri (see i. 5, 9, 13; vi. 16). A few citations of specific evils may suggest the practical problems that con-

fronted these Prophets, and which Isaiah, as one of the leading men of the capital, especially undertook to solve.

§ 320. First of all, there was the disloyalty to Jehovah, manifested in idolatry in its various forms. In the fundamental matter of popular worship and practical belief, the age of Ahaz was a critical one for Judah, mainly on account of the new political relations which were established under this prince, and which, as we have already made clear, were necessarily to bring religious changes in their train. But even before and at the accession of Ahaz, and while his kingdom was not yet involved in the larger current of Asiatic affairs, the religion of the people was not of the simple unitary character which true allegiance to Jehovah would have implied. That it had, on the whole, remained free from the grossest contaminations of Canaanitic worship, since the overthrow of the daughter of Jezebel (§ 254), is plain enough; and that the possession of the ancient national shrine and its legitimate priesthood, along with more favourable geographical and social conditions, tended to conserve a purer form of religion than was cultivated in the north, is equally certain (§ 271 ff.). But it is clear, upon the explicit testimony of contemporary Prophets, that the popular professed worship of Jehovah was often sadly mixed with the adoration of false gods, in addition to the cultus of the "high places," which the historical books repeatedly mention (1 K. xiv. 23; xv. 14; xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3; xiv. 4; xv. 4; xvi. 4; 2 Chr. xx. 33; xxi. 11; xxviii. 3; xxxiii. 3). The "lies" which Amos says caused the Judæans to err (ii. 4) can only refer to false gods (cf. Ps. xl. 5). The accusations of Hosea are more frequent, though not always more explicit. He evidently regards Judah as being in less hopeless case, both in religion and morals, than his own nation (i. 7; iv. 15); and yet, when he makes an arraignment of the latter, he usually gives a side-glance of pity or indignation at the former (see v. 5, 10, 12 ff.; vi. 4, 11, where the middle of

the verse should end the chapter; viii. 14; xii. 2), and also accuses it directly of inconstancy to Jehovah (xi. 12).

§ 321. It is Isaiah and Micah, however, who first plainly state the case, and their words reveal the true nature of Judah's religious practice, both for their own time and for the century preceding. Their charge of idolatry is sweeping and direct; and in the true spirit of the reformer they deal with it in connection with those moral delinquencies of their people which they so unsparingly denounce. Not only was superstition rife, in the form of sorcery and magic, imported both from the East and from the West (Isa. ii. 6; cf. iii. 2 f., and especially viii. 19; Mic. iii. 6, 7, 11; v. 12), but the worship of false gods was so prevalent that the land was said to be full of idols made, as both Prophets remark with biting scorn, by the hands of their worshippers (Isa. ii. 8; cf. ii. 18, 20; xvii. 8; xxx. 22; xxxi. 7; Mic. v. 13). It is true that, while direct allusions to idols are plain and strong, they are not of frequent occurrence in these Prophets; but the very fact that they are mentioned incidentally and as a matter of course is the surest evidence possible that the evil was deep-seated and wide-spread, and that the people as a whole were to the manner born. Indeed, it will be found that much of the moral iniquity of the time, which is cited with such detail, is connected with false worship of one form or another, and even with the most noxious and odious type of idolatry. By this I mean that nature-worship which in practice became throughout the Semitic world a system of immorality legalized and fostered under the name of devotion to the goddess of lust. The Canaanitic form of this bestializing cult developed itself chiefly in the rites of Ashera (§ 152). The favourite symbol of this goddess, tantamount to an "idol," was a tree, and her worship was chiefly carried on in groves, or other places where the rich luxuriance of the vegetable world suggested the attributes of Astarte, the Semitic Venus. The encouragement of these indulgences, under the name of religion,

constituted the chief evil against which the Prophets and religious reformers in Israel had to contend from the beginning to the end of the national life, — an evil so essentially pernicious, so virulent in its persistence and seductiveness, that it was only eradicated through a complete social and political transformation of the community. It will be at once seen how readily the various forms of false worship, with which the Old Testament has made us familiar, how everything which was not of the pure spiritual worship of Jehovah, became tributary to this all-consuming moral and physical vice. Secondary forms of self-indulgence, often disguised as religious consecration, ministered to this ruling passion, as the minor currents are diverted into the main stream that is drawn from afar towards the vortex. The adoration of Jehovah himself upon the high places held sacred by immemorial tradition — a custom which had not yet been put down either in the Northern or in the Southern Kingdom — ministered inevitably to the grosser rites of Ashera, through the very proximity of these heights to the terebinth groves and gardens, which were preferred to the temple of Jehovah (Isa. i. 29). And when we find sun-images (Isa. xvii. 8; xxvii. 9; cf. Lev. xxvi. 30; Ezek. vi. 4, 6; and especially 2 Chr. xiv. 4; xxxiv. 4, 7) coupled with the symbols of Ashera, we are led to conclude that other popular forms of worship were ancillary to the same class of indulgences. This becomes all the clearer to us when we remember that such images were representations of Baal, the old sun-god, who was to all the Western Semites the original type of reproduction, kindred to that represented by Astarte, of whom he was the male counterpart. So we find that not only these special symbols of Baal, placed upon his altars (2 Chr. xxxiv. 4), but the more common "pillars" (marg. of Rev. Eng. vers.: "obelisk") came to be dedicated to the same god (2 K. iii. 2; x. 26 f.), and are, in like manner, associated with the images of Ashera (2 K. xviii. 4; xxiii. 14; Mic. v. 12 f.). And, finally, we see

in several of the passages just cited both types of Baal-worship associated and co-ordinated with the "high places." Thus the whole of the religious services that were not rendered spiritually to the invisible, inimitable, inexpressible Jehovah, were so many avenues and entrances to the "house which is the way to Sheol, going down to the chambers of death" (Prov. vii. 26, 27).

§ 322. All this was regarded as un-Israelitish by the Prophets of Israel and Judah. It did not characterize properly the people of Jehovah, the God of purity and holiness. This view of the perpetual danger of contamination from vices essentially foreign, explains to us, in large measure, the intense desire on the part of these representatives of Jehovah that the people whom they served, as guides and counsellors, should be kept aloof from foreign entanglements and influences of every sort. They understood this sin and its consequences thoroughly, as leading to manifold other vices, which they scourged also with extreme severity, and as corrupting and undermining the community generally. If there is anything in the writings of the great Prophets of ancient Israel which entitles them to the distinction of moral sociologists, it is their profound perception and conviction of the destructiveness of this worst of all moral plagues, of the ruin which it surely works to the family, the community, and the state itself. How history, ancient and modern alike, has borne out the correctness of their diagnosis of this private and public ulceration, need not here be said. It is only necessary to point out further in this special connection how Isaiah emphasizes (iii. 16 ff.) the frivolity of the women of Jerusalem. His description suggests plainly enough his dread of the wholesale depreciation of Israelitish motherhood and conjugal fidelity; and it is not difficult to see how cheaply these virtues would come to be held if the vices which he connects with popular modes of worship were tolerated in the land of Jehovah.

§ 323. As already indicated, these and kindred iniquities were undoubtedly more prevalent in the Northern than in the Southern Kingdom; and probably, even in the time of Ahaz, the latter did not reach the degree of offensiveness which could often be predicated of the former. It was largely a question of environment, as the Prophets well knew. Enough has been said, however, to show how far Judah had gone in this direction, and to explain and vindicate the attitude of contemporary Prophets towards those foreign states where such things were practised without shame or self-reproach. Of the other offences stigmatized so memorably in the surviving prophetic literature, the most dangerous, because the most natural, so to speak, and the most easily encouraged, were greed and its concomitant, deceit. Here, too, we have to note and admire the monumental worth of the characterizations of these vices made by the Prophets. And again, if we take these sins by themselves, or add to them the other evils with which the land was infested, calling forth the indignation and the grief of the servants of Jehovah, we can readily see how closer relations with foreigners would increase the dreaded evils and aggravate the offence. On this special point it is not necessary to enlarge; it will be sufficient to apply to each case in detail the general principles already enunciated (§ 271, 296 ff.).

§ 324. One additional remark may be permitted in conclusion. It has often struck the modern reader as a peculiarity of most of the Prophets that they had a *penchant* for dealing with the affairs of foreign nations, which they make the subject of minute study in their political, moral, and religious features (*e.g.* Isa. xiii. ff.; Jer. xlvii. ff.; Ezek. xxv. ff.; xxxv.; xxxviii. f.; Amos i. f.; Obadiah; Nahum; Zeph. ii.; Zech. ix.; Daniel). A review of the moral and religious issues involved in the relations between these foreign powers and Israel or Judah goes far to explain the phenomenon.

§ 325. Returning to our point of departure, we observe

that the policy favoured by Isaiah towards Assyria was necessarily that of quiescence and trust in Jehovah, as far as the question of most pressing moment was concerned. It was the true theocratic policy, precisely the same as that recommended to the Northern Kingdom by Hosea (§ 313 f.). Would the ruling powers in Judah accept the saving counsel? Let us look now more closely at the actual situation. The forces of Judah were unable to cope with the allies in the field. A succession of reverses (2 Chr. xxviii. 5 ff.) compelled them to retire to the fortress of the capital. After the confederates had ravaged the Judæan country north of and round about Jerusalem, a section, perhaps the main portion of the Aramæans, marched southward, joined the Edomites, with whom they took possession of Elath, that old bone of contention between Judah and Edom, whose capture and retention by Uzziah had contributed largely to make the reign of that great ruler and his successor one of commercial as well as military success (§ 269). This severe blow having been struck at the prosperity of Judah, the united armies prepared to move on Jerusalem itself; and the heart of the royal household "quivered as the trees of the forest quiver before the wind" (Isa. vii. 1 ff.; 2 K. xvi. 5 f.). The Philistines also took advantage of the distressed condition of Judah, and succeeded in recovering a number of border towns and districts which Uzziah had annexed (2 Chr. xxviii. 18; cf. Isa. ix. 12).[1]

§ 326. In this extremity of dismay and terror, Ahaz, in a panic, sent messengers to Tiglathpileser imploring his intervention, and offering to become his vassal as the price of his deliverance (2 K. xvi. 7; 2 Chr. xxviii. 16). That he deliberately threw away the independence of his country is plain from his own words: "I am thy slave and thy son"; the former term indicating his readiness to pay

[1] I regard it as certain, with Ewald and many followers, that the passage, Isa. ix. 8–x. 4, belongs properly between vs. 25 and 26 of ch. v.

regular tribute and render all necessary service in war or peace; and the latter symbolizing the homage, honour, and obedience (cf. Mal. i. 6) which he was willing to manifest to his liege lord. Did he do so wisely or unwisely, as a necessary evil, or unnecessarily? The small but compact and well-led party in Jerusalem, which was maintained by Isaiah, evidently held the latter view. Before any agreement could be made, and probably before the message was sent to the Assyrian king, Ahaz was one day inspecting the arrangements for preserving the water supply of the city, in view of the impending siege.[1] Isaiah went out to impress upon him the propriety of leaving the Assyrians out of his plans, and trusting in Jehovah for deliverance. In this counsel the Prophet had first of all in view the necessity of keeping his nation free from foreign corrupting influences; but he also perceived clearly that the dreaded alliance between Damascus and Ephraim would soon be dissolved at any rate, by the intervention of the Assyrians against their enterprising vassals, and that their destruction was only a matter of time. They were to him, in fact, merely the smouldering ends of half-burnt firebrands; their spite against Judah would wreak itself in smoke, instead of fire. He then distinctly announced the impending collapse of the whole enterprise, including the scheme of putting a Syrian (an otherwise unknown "son of Ṭābēl") upon the throne of Judah. On the other hand, the continued existence of "the house of David" would depend upon their trust in Jehovah, who was the head of Jerusalem the capital of his own land, as contrasted with those who ruled in the capitals of the apostate Ephraimites and the heathen Aramæans. As to the policy they were to adopt, all he could commend to them was to "be watchful and remain passive" (vii. 4–9).

§ 327. To encourage the weakling who sat on the throne of David, Isaiah proposed that he should demand a sign from Jehovah of any character he might choose, as a

[1] See the illustrative sketches in Stade, GVI. I, 590 ff.

test of the reliability of the promise of deliverance. Ahaz, who was bent upon calling in Assyrian relief, made answer, partly in superstitious dread and partly in deprecatory cunning, that he would not tempt Jehovah by asking for such a test. The Prophet then gave a more explicit prediction, which was to have a twofold application and fulfilment; the land was to be evacuated by the invaders, so that the impending evil would be averted; but it would itself be finally scourged and devastated, by the very power to which its rulers were now looking for deliverance. Thus the policy which Ahaz and his party intended to adopt would defeat its own ends, and hasten the catastrophe which it sought to avert. As an omen which should be valid to all who would hear the word, it was announced that a child should soon be born, to whom the significant name "God is with us" should be given. The parentage of the child is, very remarkably, not mentioned; only the mother is referred to, and that not by name, since it is merely said that a certain "young woman" should in a very short time become the mother of this promised Immānū'ēl.[1] Of this child it is affirmed that, at some time after he should be able to choose between good and evil, the privations and desolation of the land would have become so great that his food might consist of curds and honey, the diet of a people to whom agriculture would be rare and difficult. Before that time should arrive, the respite of deliverance from the present invasion by Ephraim and Syria would be granted (vii. 13–16).

§ 328. In this announcement, the temporary reprieve from calamity is mentioned as a subordinate fact, and, as it were, casually, not even the instrument of the deliverance being named. And it was just this momentary relief which the court party were willing to sacrifice everything to secure. So convinced was the Prophet of the utter futility of the whole scheme of an Assyrian alliance, and of the evils that must certainly follow in its train, that the

[1] See Note 12 in Appendix.

resulting relief appeared to him as only a brief and insignificant episode in the tragic history of Judah's decline. It should serve rather to point a contrast with the woes that were impending, than to furnish a pretext for a comforting word, or even a suggestion or symbol of the greater deliverance which his people and country were yet to enjoy, and of which his heart and imagination were full to overflowing. These successive omens, and their exposition by the seer himself, show more clearly than anything else the political insight of this greatest of Israelitish statesmen, the range of his survey of the forces that were so rapidly making up the history of the time, his invincible and heroic faith, his single-hearted patriotism, and the purity and grandeur of his practical aims. Over against this magnificent picture is thrown out in gloomy relief the character and conduct of the opposing party, who had lost faith, courage, and self-control, through lack of loyalty to Jehovah.

§ 329. The portent of "Immanuel" was too large and far-reaching to stand for this single catastrophe. It was rather a comprehensive type, to which Isaiah would need again and again to recur when he could cut himself loose from the pressing problems of the present; for these seemed only to lead to an entanglement of hopeless disorder, and to culminate in an impenetrable gloom of darkness and distress (cf. viii. 22). To make vivid and impressive the reality and character of these nearer events, a new "sign" was given, and that after a very brief interval of time (cf. viii. 4 with vii. 16). One of the Prophet's children, soon to be born, was to be called by the expressive name, "Hasten spoil! hurry prey!" Of his earliest days, also, it is intimated that they should be contemporaneous with the conquest and spoiling of Damascus and Ephraim, and that, too, at the hands of the king of Assyria, who is now named for the first time as the agent of their overthrow and of consequent relief to Jerusalem (viii. 1–4). With mingled regret and reproach, he addresses the recreant northern branch of the old family and Israel. He chides

them for disdaining "Siloah's brook that flowed fast by the oracles of God," — the little stream whose waters, flowing ever gently and serenely under the protection of the hills of Zion, were a symbol of the calm confidence which trust in, and allegiance to, Jehovah would inspire, — and rebukes them for welcoming as leaders Pekah and Rezon. He declares that another stream shall come upon them, the Great River in its flood-time, rising up out of its accustomed channels and overflowing its banks. The inundation would submerge all the western lands, and even "sweep onward into Judah," its furthest spreading waves reaching as far as the remotest corners of the land (viii. 5–8).

§ 330. The judgment to be inflicted upon Israel and Syria has thus a secondary place in this series of prophecies connected with the "signs"; the Prophet, while concerned even to bitter grief for the fate of the unfaithful sister kingdom, looks over and beyond it to the issues which were at stake in his own little realm, on which depended the future pure worship of Jehovah, and the very existence of his earthly dwelling-place. But he did utter a special prophecy, at this crisis, against Damascus and Samaria, declaring that, leagued as they were in an unholy war, they should be linked together also in common defeat and mourning, with the loss of their fortresses and their nationality (xvii. 1–4). In language no less pathetic than beautiful, he predicts the taking off of the defenders of Samaria, by the harvestman's strokes of the sword of the Assyrians, leaving a very small remnant "as when one gleaneth ears in the valley of Rephaim." And his oracle turns at last into a wail for the delusion and the baffled hopes of the votaries of Ashera and Adonis, who, in their desperation, should abandon their fallacious deities, and recognize their Maker, the Holy One of Israel, but too late to bring them in any other harvest than that which was sure to come from the transplanting of foreign growths into Jehovah's land (xvii. 5–11).

CHAPTER VII

THE ASSYRIANS IN PALESTINE AND BABYLONIA

§ 331. At the time when Ahaz of Judah sent his message of personal and national humiliation to Tiglath-pileser, the latter was probably already well on his way down the western coast. His aims, in this second expedition to the West, were to settle the affairs of the newly colonized districts of Syria (§ 294, 306), as well as to extend his conquests southward to Egypt, the unvarying goal of Assyrian warlike adventure. His story of the present enterprise, — one of the most important in the annals of his reign, — as far as may be made out from the fragmentary records, is as follows:[1] In 734 he set out upon an expedition, of which the objective point was southwestern Palestine. His first care on arriving in the West-land was to see to the security of the region annexed in 738, which had belonged to the realm of Hamath. Over these he reasserted his sovereignty and appointed six military administrators. He then proceeded down the coast, annexing and organizing all the districts along the "Upper Sea" (§ 179). No mention is made of Tyre and Sidon, but, as we shall see later, they were not left out of mind. Arriving at the natural turning-point above Mount Carmel, he enters the valley of Jezreel, and lays waste all the Israelitish country to the west of the Sea of Kinnereth, and annexes it formally to the realm of Asshur. This important information we do not get from the Inscriptions alone, which are here incomplete in details,

[1] See Note 13 in Appendix.

as well as mutilated. The Biblical record (2 K. xv. 29) states that "in the days of Pekah king of Israel Tiglathpileser king of Assyria came and took Ijon and Abel-beth-ma'acha and Janoah and Kedesh and Hazor [and Gilead] and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." The official Ninevite report speaks of localities which may possibly be identified with some of the above-named districts. Their position, at any rate, is fixed by him, and puts it beyond doubt that the same tracts of country are meant in both accounts. He says they lay at the entrance to "Omri-land," or Israel. A glance at the map shows how well this describes the region indicated by the Biblical writer, bordering upon the immemorial caravan routes from Egypt and the coast to Damascus and the Euphrates, and the road by which, innumerable times, hostile armies had marched from both east and west to the centre of Palestine. Tiglathpileser says he annexed the whole of this region to Assyria, and placed over it his officers as governors.

§ 332. He then follows the coast-route southward, receives the tribute and submission of Metintī, king of Askalon (cf. § 334), and, apparently without making further delay, marches upon the extreme frontier town, Gaza, whose possession brings him at once almost within striking distance of the land of the Pharaohs. Chanun, the king of Gaza, flees into Egypt. Here, on the border, the Assyrian monarch erects his own statue as the symbol of his sovereignty, indicating at once that all Palestine was under his control, and that there no foreign rival should dare dispute his sway. There is nothing said as to other Philistian communities, and this I take to be a significant corroboration of the view that they were then dependent upon Judah (§ 268), and therefore under the protection of the Assyrians. Having thus secured the frontiers of Southern Palestine, he was at liberty to deal with the obnoxious allied rulers of the northern states, without fear that they would be able to get assistance from Egypt.

Pekah was the first to feel his power. The blow he inflicted was a terrible one, the worst which Israel had known since the days of Egyptian bondage. The remnant of the land south of "the entrance to Israel," that is, "Ephraim" or "Samaria," was devastated, a portion of the people deported to Assyria, and the valiant rebel and conspirator, Pekah, put to death. Hoshea (733–724) was made ruler over the new kingdom, and the royal treasure was transported to Assyria.[1] Here again the Biblical narrative furnishes the needed complement to the story of the inscriptions. It says, in a passage immediately following the last quotation (2 K. xv. 30), that "Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead." It is proper, therefore, to assume that Hoshea was a pretender to the throne, who had favoured, and perhaps joined, the invaders, and with their countenance put his old master to death, to reign as their vassal over the moiety of the dismembered state.

§ 333. It is extremely difficult to trace the exact succession of the remaining events of this two years' campaign, as the chief details are given to us by synoptical and not by annalistic inscriptions. The Eponym chronicle makes the main enterprise against Damascus, the leading member of the confederacy, to have begun in 733, and as we cannot suppose that the Great King allowed Rezon, by respite of time, the opportunity of making trouble for him among any other of the independent principalities, we have to assume that the army, which, after the capture of Gaza, completed the humiliation and overthrow of Israel, also acted as a check upon Syria, and that a detachment of the force remained on the borders of Damascus during the military actions following that catastrophe.

§ 334. The next active movement seems to have been directed against Arabia. Here a large and powerful tribe of Bedawin, half nomads, half traders, were attacked and

[1] See again Note 13 in the Appendix.

plundered. As was customary among the ancient Arab communities of the north, like Sheba in the south of the peninsula, the supreme government was entrusted to a woman. The queen of this nation was named Samsī ("Belonging to the Sun"). His ground of action apparently was that she was intriguing with Askalon against Assyria; but the invasion had a much larger political motive. Arabia was important to the Assyrians as the principal depot of spices and incense, besides being a breeding-ground for camels and cattle, and a source of supply for gold and precious stones. The tribes which furnished these valuable possessions, whether as controlling their production, their supply, or their transportation, must be brought under Assyrian influence, especially as it had been the prescriptive immemorial rôle of Egypt to regulate the traffic to the east of the Isthmus, and to divert to herself the richest and most precious wares. Whatever would curb or cripple Egypt was a clear gain in the protracted struggle for the empire of the world. Hence the rigorous treatment accorded to the Arab queen, who was suddenly assailed by an army of strangers, and compelled for freedom and honour to seek refuge in her desert home. An enormous spoil of camels, cattle, and bales of spices of various sorts, was obtained through this assault. The luckless queen was pursued far into her wilderness retreat, and compelled to accept the control of an Assyrian prefect. A powerful tribe, the Idiba'il (Idibi'il), the "Adbeel" of Gen. xxv. 13, whose habitat stretched from the Dead Sea southwest to the Isthmus,[1] and who were probably in league with the people of Judah, and therefore more reliable allies, were appointed to guard the frontiers of Egypt. The peoples of other regions of Arabia brought propitiatory gifts. Among these we may at least name Tēma and Saba'a, which will be recognized as familiar Bible names, the latter being identified with the Sabæans of Job i. 15 (cf. Gen. x. 7; xxv. 3), and the former

[1] See Par. p. 301 f.

distinguished as traders along with the Sabæans (Job vi. 19). It is very probable that these Sabæans were connected with the famous peoples inhabiting the country of the same name in Southern Arabia ("Sheba").[1]

§ 335. The most formidable task of the whole yet remained to be accomplished, — the capture of Damascus. As already mentioned, the Eponym chronicle designates that region as the goal of the campaign of 733. But it holds the same prominent place in the record for 732, and this is the strongest proof we have of the importance of the enterprise in the mind of the Assyrian monarch. What we have of his report gives, however, an inadequate idea of the operations. He describes a battle between his forces and those of Damascus, which must have taken place in 733. It resulted in the total overthrow of the Syrians, whose king, Rezon, was compelled to flee "like a hunted stag, into the city through its principal gate." Here Tiglathpileser "shut him up like a caged bird." He then proceeded to devastate all the territory subject to Damascus. In the way of exemplary punishment, as well as embittered revenge, the rich and stately groves of well-watered Damascus were ruthlessly hewn down, even to the last tree. A fortress, with the ancestral residence, the birthplace of Rezon, was captured, and its defenders made prisoners. Other fortified cities were also taken, and altogether over five hundred towns and villages in the sixteen districts of Damascene territory were laid waste, and made "like mounds in the track of a deluge." Such was the treatment accorded to Damascus, the hereditary opposer of Assyrian aggression and the head of the Syro-Ephraimitish league. Of the taking of the main fortress itself we are not informed in the extant inscriptions.[2]

[1] For the operations in North Arabia, see III R. 10, 30–38, to which must be added the synoptical statements in II R. 67, 52–55, and Lay. 66. 1–16, along with Lay. 73, 16, and its continuation in Lay. 29, Nr. 2.

[2] The only account we have of the war against Damascus is contained in Lay. 72; 73. The reference to Rezon, its king, in Lay. 29, Nr. 2, is too

But that Damascus was really captured, we learn from the Biblical narrative of the reign of Ahaz, which again comes in as an essential complement to the Assyrian record. The account (2 K. xvi. 5 ff.) is only a summary of the principal events that determined the fortunes of Judah, and its mention of the fall of Damascus (v. 9), in connection with the appeal of Ahaz for relief to the Assyrian king (§ 326), is not to be taken as indicating the exact place in order of time of the crowning deed of this long campaign.

§ 336. After the occupation of the city, which was followed by the deportation of a large number of citizens to Kir, the victorious monarch held high court in this ancient Aramæan capital, whose history, commercial importance, and geographical position made it the most fitting place for an imperial levee. At this august function he received in person the princes of the subject states. Among those who appeared was Ahaz of Judah[1] (2 K. xvi. 10), who had secured his protection at so great a sacrifice of treasure, of dignity, and of his country's weal. The Great King mentions Ahaz among the number of those whose tribute and gifts were paid to him as the profit of this western expedition, and the Biblical narrator tells us the nature of the fee (שֹׁחַד) with which he had retained the services of such a puissant defender; namely, "the silver and the gold which were found in the House of Jehovah and in the king's own house." This was doubtless followed by an annual payment, so that the position of Judah, with regard to Assyria, soon became little different from that of the generality of tributary states, whose contributions to the treasury of the Great King were the result of one form or another of military coercion.

§ 337. In the list of new tributaries[2] there also appear

mutilated to be made out clearly. For a conjecture, see Smith, AD. p. 284; Hommel, GBA. p. 668.

[1] *Ya-u-ḫa-zi mât Ya-u-da-ai* (II R. 67, 61).

[2] II R. 67, 57–63.

the names of the king of Ammon (Sanibu[1]), of Moab (Salamānu[2]), and of Edom (Ḳaušmalak[3]). Whether the territory of these princes was actually invaded by Assyrian troops we cannot tell with certainty. Edom would naturally be overawed during the Arabian campaign, and it is likely also that Moab and Ammon were visited, or at least threatened, during the long war against Damascus. Gilead (see above) would then certainly have been overrun, and, being the territory of a rebel, would share the fate of the other outlying possessions of Samaria.

§ 338. To complete the subjection of the West-land, there remained only the leading states of Phœnicia. The Assyrian king, knowing well the temper of the Phœnicians, had concluded, on his southerly march, that it would not be worth while to sacrifice time and fighting-men against a city like Tyre, which would be sure, without coercion, to find it profitable, and therefore expedient, to own his authority and send him a fitting contribution. Accordingly, at the close, as it would seem, of his operations in Palestine, he sent thither a military and civil officer of the highest rank, to demand tribute. The moral pressure thus exerted seems to have been tolerably strong, as the enormous sum of 150 talents of gold, with an unknown quantity of other treasure, was paid over to the exacting claimant.[4] The submission of the northerly kingdom of Tubal (§ 217), in Cappadocia, was secured, probably about the same time, in a similar fashion, and was accompanied by the payment of an impost, in which the great proportion of silver (1000 talents) strikingly illustrates the mineral riches of the country.[5]

[1] See Par. 294.

[2] Salamānu is the same name as Solomon (cf. § 314).

[3] Ḳa'ušmālak (*Ḳa-uš-ma-la-ka*) of Edom means "the Bow of Molech"; cf. Ḳūšāyāhū, "the Bow of Jehovah" of Chr. xv. 17, and the modern Syriac *kištīmāran*, "rainbow," *i.e.* "the bow of our Lord." Names connected with the bow were common in Edom, as might be expected (Gen. xxv. 27; xxvii. 3; cf. xxi. 20).

[4] II R. 67, 66.

[5] II R. 67, 64 f.

§ 339. The Great King now left Palestine and Syria, not to return in person. His last military achievements were performed in Babylonia. Here lived the most stubborn of his adversaries, whose subjugation he had begun, but not completed, in an earlier period of his reign (§ 293). His former operations were confined, as above shown, to securing his own boundary, and to the expulsion from Northern Babylonia of turbulent elements. His rapid excursions against the Aramæan and Chaldæan principalities of the south were not followed up by a permanent occupation. Now, as the closing work of his reign, he undertook a systematic subjection of the whole of Babylonia. The main part of these conquests were achieved in 731. The king's first care was to make a triumphal entry into the principal cities of Northern and Central Babylonia, and thus renew his federation with the priests of the national shrines, whose protection was indispensable to his success in the land of their votaries. The nomadic Aramæans of the Lower Tigris, and the fierce Chaldæans bordering on the Gulf, were, however, the foes with whom he had to reckon. The former, who, in numerous and powerful clans, ranged the country up and down the River, and who, after each reverse of fortune, were continually recruited from their roving brethren of the pasture lands on the Middle Euphrates, had entrenched themselves most strongly east of the Tigris, their two principal tribes being those that lay between that river and the lowest portion of the *Uknu* (the classical *Choaspes*, now the *Kercha*, § 106). The northerly encampments belonged to the *Puḳudu* ("Pekod" of Jer. l. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 23), and the southerly to the *Gambulu*. The Puḳud territory was invaded, the settlements broken up, and the people driven to the borders of Elam. With this chastisement the Aramæans were at least terrorized for the present.

§ 340. A much more dangerous foe were the Chaldæans, lying between the Lower Tigris and Euphrates, and stretching northward from the Gulf as far as they could assert

their power (§ 223, 293). During Tiglathpileser's occupation with his western and northern wars they had become so successful that one of their chiefs, Ukīnzir, attained to the throne of Babylonia, with his seat in the city of Babylon itself. To subdue this Chaldæan leader, and thereby to establish an exclusive Assyrian primacy in Babylonia, was, after all, the great object of the whole campaign. Accordingly, the notice for 731 in the Eponym lists tells us that the expedition was directed against his capital, Shapiya. This city, whose position cannot now be indicated with certainty, made a resistance worthy of the historic Chaldæan name, so that the Great King, having failed to enter the walls, was moved to revenge himself by cutting down, as he had done at Damascus (§ 335), the groves of palm-trees which surrounded it. Other cities of the same principality were taken and destroyed, and all the leading communities of the Chaldæans were either subdued or voluntarily surrendered themselves. The former class were treated as rebels and deported to Assyrian territory. Among the latter may be mentioned the ruler of *Bīt-Yākin*, Merodach-Baladan (*Marduk-pal-iddin:* "Merodach has given a son"), described in the records as "the king of the Sea, who, among the kings, my predecessors, to no former king had come or kissed their feet." This chieftain, known to us later from the Bible, and made still more illustrious by the cuneiform annals, was then but a youth, and thought it best, in the meantime, to propitiate the redoubtable conqueror of Western Asia by coming before him and proffering his allegiance.[1]

§ 341. Contenting himself with these achievements, and desirous of spending the remaining years of his life in peace at home, Tiglathpileser now ceased from his wars. In 729 he again visited Babylonia, to receive the formal consecration as the vice-regent of Bēl.[2] After the custom

[1] For the campaign in Babylonia, see II R. 67 (the chief synoptical inscription), 13–28.

[2] C[b] for 729: "The king takes the hands of Bēl."

of his predecessors, he spent his closing years in architectural and other enterprises for the beautifying and strengthening of his residence, Kalach, as well as of Nineveh. In the latter city he erected a palace at the bend of the river Choser, and in the former he rebuilt the palace of Shalmaneser II (the so-called "Central Palace"), in the style of Syrian architecture. The walls of this structure he inscribed with annals of his reign. Both the building itself, and the inscriptions, met with a curious fate. Esarhaddon, the fourth in succession, in seeking materials for his great "Southwest Palace," availed himself of the then somewhat dilapidated edifice, and transported the stones to the site of his new structure. The original usurpation of the throne by the great founder of the New Assyrian empire, so strangely resented by the descendant of another irregular claimant (§358), had thus the effect of abridging and mutilating the record of his achievements, though it could not hide them from the admiration of later ages, or diminish the never-ending influence of the most original and far-seeing of all the rulers of Assyria.

CHAPTER VIII

REVOLT AND DOWNFALL OF SAMARIA

§ 342. TIGLATHPILESER III died in the month Ṭebet, 727. The heir to his throne, with its new and vast responsibilities, was Shalmaneser IV[1] (727–722), presumably his son. His reign was not devoid of important events, but unfortunately none of his annals have so far come to light, while, to add to our embarrassment, the Eponym notices for these years are almost entirely destroyed. It is, therefore, fortunate, that here the Bible narrative is full and specific, more so, at least, than in almost any other portion of Assyrio-Israelitish history. A little help, also, comes to us from the Babylonian chronicle. We shall have to make out our sketch of this brief reign under the disadvantage of scanty material, and it will not be possible to gain certitude as to all the events, or as to their order.

§ 343. The Book of Kings has a twofold reference to Shalmaneser IV, the only monarch of that name who is mentioned in the Old Testament. The first notice (2 K. xvii. 1–6) is given in connection with the reign of Hoshea of Samaria, and runs as follows, after indicating the time of his accession, the length of his reign, and his character: "(3) Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his vassal and rendered him tribute. (4) And the king of Assyria discovered treason in Hoshea, in that he had sent messengers to Seve the king of Egypt[2]

[1] Bab. Chr. I, 23–28.

[2] See Note 14 in Appendix.

and did not send up tribute to the king of Assyria, as in year upon year, and the king of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison. (5) And the king of Assyria went up through the whole land, and went up to Samaria, and laid siege to it three years. (6) In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and exiled Israel to Assyria, and settled them in Halah, and Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of Media." The other account (2 K. xviii. 9–11) is given in the narrative of the reign of Hezekiah of Judah: "(9) And it came to pass in the fourth year of King Hezekiah, that was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, there came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria against Samaria, and laid siege to it. (10) And they took it at the end of three years: in the sixth year of Hezekiah, that is the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel, Samaria was taken. (11) And the king of Assyria exiled Israel to Assyria and deported them to Halah, and Habor the river of Gozan, and the cities of Media." It is obvious that the second notice adds nothing to the information contained in the first, except the synchronisms with the reign of Hezekiah. There are some difficulties to be cleared up in connection with the numbers given in the two passages; but of these later on.

§ 344. To appreciate the historical situation, we need to go back a short period. According to our sketch of the operations of Tiglathpileser in Palestine, where 733 was given (§ 332) as the probable date of the death of Pekah, Hoshea had been six years upon the throne of Samaria at the accession of Shalmaneser. As the creature of Tiglathpileser, he was bound as much by gratitude as by prudence to remain faithful in his allegiance to his redoubtable overlord. And so he did abide, at least till the demise of the latter gave him a change of masters. But the death of the tyrant alone was no sufficient motive to revolt. As we know, all the nationalities submitted with intense reluctance to the Assyrian yoke. Even after the drastic

means of suppression employed on a large scale by Tiglath-pileser, the accession of a new monarch long continued to be regularly the signal for a general revolt of the subject states. But the subjugation of the West-land had been undertaken by the founder of the new empire with the best prospects of permanent success; and here it must have been expected that the disunited and shattered peoples would, out of sheer exhaustion and weariness, acquiesce in the dominion of the conqueror. Least of all would it have been supposed that Israel, with the most productive portion of its ancient soil administered by Assyrian prefects, and only the petty district about Samaria allowed to preserve the name of a kingdom by the precarious sufferance of the Assyrian monarch, should take the lead in any movement towards insurrection. The threefold depletion, of territory, of citizens, and of wealth, followed by the exaction of tribute from the impoverished and dispirited residue, would have seemed to render any kind of resistance an act of madness. It was a change of outward and not of inward conditions that appeared to promise success to a well-concerted uprising, on the accession of a new Assyrian king. That change consisted in the new Asiatic policy adopted by the revived Egyptian nationality, — a policy which, in its interaction with the aggressive movements of the empires on the Tigris and Euphrates, conditioned, more than all other external causes, the tragic fortunes of Israel and Judah (cf. § 313).

§ 345. Our last occasion for direct allusion to the affairs and politics of Egypt was the invasion of Southern Palestine by Shishak, the first monarch of the twenty-second Dynasty, in the reign of Rehoboam of Judah (§ 210). Decisive changes had taken place in the empire of the Nile during the two intervening centuries. Shishak, and the dynasty which he founded, were of the Libyan race, which had gradually established itself in the Delta by successive immigrations. The Libyans had long been employed in great numbers as mercenary soldiers, and

many of them were advanced to high commands. In the growing weakness of the Theban rulers, they had found their opportunity to use their military authority as a stepping-stone to high positions in the state. When Shishak, who had been military ruler of Bubastis, came to secure power, upon the crumbling ruins of the priestly dynasty of Thebes, he set himself seriously to counteract the corruption and manifold abuses which had been tolerated and promoted by his predecessors. But the genius for organization and centralization was lacking in these children of the desert. The history of their rule, as far as it can be gathered from their monuments, continues the story of national decline, ending in the complete disintegration of the empire. One local ruler after another set up and maintained his authority over his own district, sometimes without opposition, sometimes in successful rebellion against the nominal heir of the Pharaohs. Thus it came to pass, that when, after a century and a half of Libyan domination, under nine titular kings, the country yielded to a new foreign régime, there were no less than twenty princes, virtually independent, bearing sway in Egypt proper.

§ 346. The new controlling force in Egypt came this time also from the outside, but from a people altogether dissimilar to the Libyans. Ethiopia had been for more than twelve centuries under the control of Egypt, which had enriched and aggrandized herself immeasurably through its gold, its rich tropical productions, and, more than all, by its slave-labour. The great princes of the twelfth Dynasty, above all, Usertesen III (c. 2000 B.C.), subdued the northern portion of Nubia, and annexed the Nile Valley, from the First Cataract at Assouan to the Second Cataract above Wady Halfa. During the troublous times of the Hyksos, the Ethiopians not only refused allegiance, but made themselves a terror to the people of the Lower Nile by frequent depredations. It was the renowned monarch, Aahmes I (§ 144), the expeller of the Hyksos, and the

first king of the eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1580), who also reconquered Nubia; and his immediate successors extended the Egyptian dominion as far as the Third Cataract (Island of Argo). Thothmes I took the decisive step of organizing this whole territory, of three hundred miles in length, as a province of the empire, under the jurisdiction of governors and a governor-general, "the Prince of Kush." Fortresses were constructed, temples and palaces erected, and the local institutions assimilated to those of the conquering people. The incorporation with Egypt lasted five centuries, and ended in the political independence of the subjugated territory, which had now extended southward to the great bend of the Nile at the 18th parallel of latitude. Yet "through association with Egypt the culture of that country had established itself firmly in Ethiopia. Egyptian was the official language, the writing was hieroglyphic, and the titles of the sovereign were imitations of those of the Pharaohs. Above all, the Egyptian religion, and especially the Theban worship of Amon, attained to complete predominance in the land of Kush."[1]

§ 347. As the disintegration of Egypt proper under the Libyan régime went on, as above described, it became easy for the rulers of Ethiopia, who, during the twenty-second Dynasty had exchanged vice-royalty for actual as well as titular royalty, to gain for themselves a footing in the territory of the ancient lords of the land. This was all the easier, because Thebes and the surrounding country was now entirely disassociated from the nominal Pharaohs. The new kingdom of Ethiopia, which was coming to dominate the whole valley of the Nile, had for its capital Napata, the most southerly city in Egyptian Nubia, at the foot of the Jebel Barkal. The position of this chief city is significant of the original seat of Ethiopian independence, remote from the influence of the Pharaohs, and near the sources which were continually replenishing the anti-Egyptian element of the population. Early in the eighth

[1] Meyer, GA. § 350.

century the new kingdom was ready to intervene in the affairs of the confused and distracted principalities of the Lower Nile-land. This was done by Pianchi, king of Ethiopia, about 775. In what form his claims were first put forward is not clear, but we know that his suzerainty was only acknowledged after a most determined resistance on the part of the princes of the Delta and the Fayum. These were not overcome till several battles had been fought, both on river and land, and more than one city taken by storm, among these being even Memphis, the most sacred of all cities in the eyes of Egyptians. Pianchi showed the genius of a far-sighted statesman, as well as of a conqueror, in restraining himself from asserting a claim to rule in the seat of the Pharaohs. He was content to receive the homage of the disunited princes, being only watchful against all attempts at combination for the overthrow of his suzerainty. That any of the leading princes succeeded in maintaining more than very brief independence is not probable. On the other hand, that no Ethiopian ruler is reckoned among the historic Pharaohs until the twenty-fifth Dynasty is to be accounted for by the fact that no sovereign of that country undertook the actual administration of Egypt before that epoch. The twenty-third Dynasty is named after princes who ruled in the Delta, and is reckoned from c. 800 to 735 B.C. The twenty-fourth consisted of but one king, who enjoyed in Memphis a short reign (734–728), which was put an end to because of his persistent attempts to ignore the authority of the kings of Ethiopia. This prince, Bekenrenf by name, the Bocchoris of the Greeks, was deposed and put to death by Shabaka of Ethiopia, a grandson of Pianchi, who now asserted and maintained the direct control of the united realms of all Egypt and Ethiopia.

§ 348. The accession of the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian Dynasty (728–663), brings us very close to the time of Shalmaneser IV of Assyria and Hoshea of Egypt. Vast designs were now cherished by the Pharaohs of the south-

ern race. No less an enterprise was conceived than the re-establishment of Egyptian influence in Western Asia, as it had been maintained in the glorious days of Thothmes III and Ramses II. The practical motives of this ambitious project are not difficult to surmise. It was becoming evident to the Egyptians that the gradual but sure advance of the Assyrians, in the conquest of Syria, Palestine, and North Arabia, was not meant to be confined to Asia alone, but would, from the newly acquired vantage-ground, be pushed onward to the west of the Isthmus. An assertion of their interest in Palestine was therefore an instinctive movement for self-preservation on the part of the dwellers on the Nile. Again, the Ethiopian kings of Egypt knew that nothing could so strongly cement the disintegrated states of Egypt with one another, and with their new masters from the south, as action in a common cause against the great common foe of the nations. And nothing could so well prove the value of union and cohesion as the dread of national obliteration by the piecemeal absorption of disorganized and disunited states. Hence the encouragement to aggressive action in Palestine given by the Ethiopian overlords to the princes of the Delta. But both the motive and the action came too late to curb the dreaded Assyrians, or even to save Egypt. Indeed, the evils which had brought about the paralysis of national life — local jealousies and strife, the rivalry of sectional religions, official corruption, and, above all, the greed and arrogance of the priestly class — prevented Egypt, in spite of her ambitions and intrigues, from making any figure at all in Asia for the next hundred years and more. It actually led to her becoming a source of weakness and danger to the Asiatic states which she chose as her allies. At the very outset Shabaka was crippled by the want of subordination, as well as the want of harmony among his Egyptian subjects. Yet, on the other hand, the ancient renown of Egypt, and the imposing vastness of the new monarchy, lent a seductive glamour to her proffered alliance with the

petty states of Palestine, and to her unfailing promises of protection and succour. Thus it was the alluring prospect of Egyptian aid that encouraged Hoshea, and other princes of Syria and Palestine, to break with Assyria, on the death of their conqueror (cf. § 343 f.).

§ 349. Shalmaneser showed himself fully alive to the situation. It seems, in fact, that an Assyrian army was operating in Northern Syria at his accession, and, at the same time, keeping watch over the West-land generally. The Babylonian chronicle mentions the destruction of the city *Šabara'in* as following closely upon Shalmaneser's ascension (that is, in 726), and this city, which was in all probability the "Sepharvaim" referred to by Sinacherib's boastful ambassador[1] (2 K. xviii. 34; xix. 13), and the "Sibraim" of Ezek. xlvii. 16, was situated, according to the last-named passage, between Hamath and Damascus. Rumours of the unsettlement and seditious purposes of Israel appear to have reached the leader of the Assyrian army; for the compiler of the narrative in Kings tells us that "Shalmaneser came against Hoshea, and that Hoshea became his vassal, and rendered him tribute." In view of Hoshea's relations with Tiglathpileser (§ 332), this can only mean that, in consequence of the threatening presence of the Assyrian army, Hoshea rendered homage to his new suzerain, and yielded promptly the tribute which, perhaps, he had been remiss in delivering. It is not necessary to assume, on any fair principle of interpretation, that Shalmaneser appeared in person before Samaria in this first year of his reign. The Bible report goes on to tell of Hoshea's sending messengers to Seve (§ 343), king of Egypt, and withholding from Assyria the tribute which he had paid "year upon year." This expression implies that at least two years had elapsed between the formal submis-

[1] This identification was first proposed by Halévy. Ewald (*History of Israel*, iv, 162 f. Engl. tr.) showed conclusively, many years ago, that Sepharvaim was not to be found in Babylonia. He also identified it with the Sibraim of Ezekiel.

sion of Hoshea and his conspiracy with Egypt. That is, the attempted revolt, which brought Shalmaneser himself with his army against Israel, could not have taken place earlier than 724. As a matter of fact the succeeding statements of the narrative imply that this was the date of Hoshea's conspiracy, since they inform us that, in consequence of the revolt, Samaria was besieged, and that the city was taken in the third year of its investment; while we learn from the cuneiform documents that the date of the capture was near the close of the Babylonian year 722.

§ 350. The unhappy king of Israel was disappointed in his hopes of help from the ambitious but sadly hampered king of Egypt, and was apparently compelled to face his Assyrian pursuers unprepared. He was taken prisoner, with how many others we do not know, outside Samaria, and, as we may assume, carried away to Nineveh. The whole land was overrun, and, as the extreme penalty of rebellion, the capital was doomed to destruction.

§ 351. The final siege of Samaria lacks no element of interest and pathos. The details are not given us from any source, since, as has repeatedly been observed, it was not in accordance with the genius of the Semitic annalists to state the particulars of an action or to analyze the processes and stages of a catastrophe. They accepted results as the expression and indication of the divine will, and these alone they recorded. But material is not lacking to enable us to get a fairly accurate idea of the condition of the beleaguered citizens of Samaria, while the voice of Prophecy proclaims the moral lessons of the catastrophe, and its significance for all peoples and ages. On the one side, the last years of the people of the northern capital give us occasion for sympathy, and even for admiration; on the other, their fate bids us moderns listen anew to the warning: —

Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere divos.

§ 352. It was but a meagre survival of the "Ten

Tribes" that was left to face the inexorable vengeance of the votaries of Asshur. Once before (§ 236) Samaria had been almost destroyed, and that by a terrible foe. But the Aramæans of Damascus had neither the resources nor effective military policy of the Assyrians. Now when a section of any country was wrested from the main body by these fell destroyers, it was no longer capable in better times of uniting itself with its former governmental system, as had been repeatedly done by the sundered fragments of Israel during the Syrian wars; it was actually rendered hostile, by being filled with a population subservient to the conquerors (§ 288 f.), and was made a base of operations or vantage-ground for ready attack upon the parent state. So, in these last times of the northern kingdom, the country north of the valley of Megiddo — that beautiful but fatal bisector of Israel — was held and administered by Assyrians (§ 331), and Gilead and Bashan, whether taken by Tiglathpileser or not, were certainly lost to the remnant that still held out in the hill-country of Ephraim. The condition of Samaria was therefore absolutely desperate, and this, at first thought, increases the wonder that it had bidden defiance to Shalmaneser. Moreover, it is to be considered that by the time the Assyrians appeared before Samaria all the country around had been devastated, and the city itself rendered less able to endure a long siege, by reason of the refugees, who, in all considerable ancient wars, thronged the strongest fortresses at the approach of a victorious enemy.[1] This isolation of Samaria rendered less probable than ever the arrival of succour from Egypt, or a relieving force from any other possible ally. It is probable that such help was still expected, otherwise it seems difficult to explain their prolonged resistance.

§ 353. It is, however, to be remembered that Samaria was now a rebellious state, which, in addition to revolt

[1] Cf. Macaulay's vivid picture in "Horatius at the Bridge."

upon its second probation (§ 288) had been guilty of conspiring with other nations hostile to Assyria. The most instructive parallel is that which is afforded by Judah under Hezekiah, twenty years later, and there we find that the Assyrians were determined to resort to their final method of deportation, even when desirous of securing a peaceful capitulation of the defenders of the besieged capital (2 K. xviii. 32). It was doubtless their purpose, therefore, to uproot the revolters and send them into exile. The Samarians, therefore, fought for the country and their homes in a special and peculiar sense, which it is difficult for those familiar only with modern and Occidental history fully to appreciate. But, all the same, their stubborn resistance, in the face of such an enemy, had in it a touch of the heroic.

§ 354. The interest of Prophecy in the Northern Kingdom had become less direct since the utterance of the ineffective pleadings and denunciations of Hosea (§ 304, 314). After his time no great Prophet seems to have arisen among the people, and it is very possible that any one of his type, or of the type of Amos, who, equally with him, proclaimed the certain destruction of the state, would have fared hardly at the hands of all leading parties. Life was almost intolerable to Hosea, whose task was already done when Tiglathpileser invaded the land; and his career of self-immolation found no imitators in the succeeding period of political and spiritual decline. Yet the voice of Prophecy was still raised; her mission, now transferred entirely to the Southern Kingdom, was fulfilled in applying the lessons of the sad fate of Ephraim to the conditions and fortunes of Judah. In the whole history of Prophecy there is nothing more significant, or more melancholy, than this abandonment of what was once the main representative of Israel. Forty years before the reign of the last king of Samaria, Amos could even leave his home in the pastures of the south, and, at the peril of his life, fulfil his ministry as a Prophet, not among his own

people, but among their northern kindred. But now, when Isaiah and Micah have to take up their case, they do not deal with them as subjects for warning or encouragement or rebuke, or even for intercession. They refer to them as enemies of the kingdom of Jehovah, and, as such, predict their speedy overthrow and obliteration. True, both Amos and Hosea had foretold their subjection to Assyria and their exile; but, while the prevision of Amos had been merely a vague and distant outlook, and the pendulum swings of Hosea's ejaculations had vibrated between the horrible dread of destruction and the trembling hope of ultimate restoration, Isaiah and Micah know only of their ruin, and of their extinction as a theocratic people. For the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, in other ways than in mere political results, it was a fatal step that was taken when it joined the enemies of Judah (§ 316).

§ 355. Isaiah's predictions of the repulse and of the ultimate fall of Samaria, in connection with the last-named event, we have already considered (§ 327, 330). It is noticeable that he announced specifically the capture of that famous stronghold, in the words "the fortress shall cease from Ephraim" (xvii. 3). A great prophecy of his (ch. xxviii.), written just before the time with which we are now concerned, takes the same theme for its text, and, though it was uttered in the interest of Judah alone, it gives us a faithful pen picture of the morality and public life of the gay Samarian capital, which was already tottering to its fall. This brief glance at Samaria is full of historical suggestion, and also full of meaning for thoughtful statesmen and citizens of all modern nations. It was the practical summarizing of the ethical and sociological teachings of the history of the Northern Kingdom. Estrangement from the true worship of Jehovah, with the consequent loss of motives to morality, had led to all sorts of self-indulgence, which was still further promoted by the false worship and its seductions to evil encouraged by the foreign policy of many of the kings. And now the long

course of frivolity and sensuality fittingly culminated in a general riot of debauchery. So frequent and prolonged were the revels, and so completely given over to luxury and excess were the leaders of the people, that the fair city itself, encircled by the vine-clad hills that wreathed it around with verdure and beauty, is called by the Prophet "the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim, and the fading bloom of his splendour, on the summit of the fertile valley of those who are laid prostrate with wine." Upon this scene of natural and artificial loveliness, the denunciation of "woe," in the same breath, is inevitable in the mouth of Isaiah; his voice is only an echo, given back from the walls of Jerusalem, of the terrible, unheeded words of Amos (iii. 9 ff.; iv. 3; v. 16 f.; vi. 3 ff.) and Hosea (*e.g.* x. 5 ff.; xiii. 15 f.), proclaiming that Samaria was about to fulfil her doom.

§ 356. More specific, as regards the catastrophe itself, is the utterance of Micah. Like his predecessor and colleague of Jerusalem, this Prophet from the little town of Moresheth-Gath, that bordered on the Philistian highway of international traffic, was stirred to grief and anxiety for his own country by the impending ruin of Samaria. The condition of that proud capital appears to him as a veritable *dignus vindice nodus*. So in his vision "Jehovah comes forth from his place, and comes down and strides along the heights of the earth; and the mountains melt before him and the lowlands are cloven asunder, like wax before the fire, like waters tumbling down a declivity. Through the apostasy of Jacob comes all this, and through the sins of the House of Israel. . . . So I will make Samaria a ruin in a field, and a plantation for vineyards; and I will tumble her stones into the valley and lay bare her foundations" (i. 3 ff.). The cycle of Prophecy relating to Samaria fitly closes with this sublime theophany, the absolute accuracy of whose literal statements is attested to this day by the features of the doomed city in its ruins.

§ 357. Since no details of the catastrophe have been

preserved, we can only conjecture its general course from the analogy of numberless other sieges which mark the chief epochs of Oriental history. The site of the city rendered it almost, or altogether, impregnable against the aggressive methods of ancient warfare. Omri had chosen his fortress well; upon the precipitous slopes, whether terraced or unbroken, it was impossible to bring either belfries or battering-rams to play upon the walls. The slow process of starving into surrender by a close blockade was necessarily resorted to. When the resources of the besieged were just about exhausted Shalmaneser died a natural death, apparently, however, not before Samaria; and the easy task of effecting the entrance and arranging the capitulation, along with the glory of the conquest of the rebellious kingdom, fell to his more fortunate and renowned successor.

§ 358. Sargon (*Šar-kēnu*, 722–705) — that is, Sargon the Second, or "the Later," as he calls himself, with allusion to the great Sargon of North Babylonia (§ 89 f.) — came to the throne on the twelfth of Ṭebet, the tenth month of the year which began with the spring equinox of 722; that is, early in December of the same year. He was not the son of Shalmaneser, but was possibly of princely descent, though we have no means of ascertaining how close or remote its connection was with his predecessors. It may be taken for granted that he was an official high in rank; and, from the fact that there is no indication of a popular disturbance, much less any of a revolution in Assyria proper, in connection with his accession, it is fair to assume that he stood well in favour, both with the people at large and with the previous régime. Indeed, it is quite possible that Shalmaneser had chosen him as his own successor.[1]

§ 359. Sargon was the founder of the last and most powerful Assyrian dynasty, which for a round century held control of Western Asia, and also, for the latter half of the same period, of Egypt and Ethiopia as well. His

[1] See Note 15 in Appendix.

achievements, both in the arts of war and of peace, entitle him to a high rank among ancient Asiatic rulers. Historically, his chief distinction is that he was able to hold together, by tremendous efforts, the huge conglomeration of principalities whose union was first systematically enforced by Tiglathpileser. As regards his personal endowments and character, he is not only one of the most imposing, but also one of the least uncongenial to modern observers, of all the kings of Assyria. Compared with the great Tiglathpileser, he was somewhat as Darius Hystaspes was to Cyrus, being, moreover, his second successor, and, besides, not his lineal descendant; he, too, kept together, by dint of skill, energy, and prowess, the empire which his predecessor had built up. His inscriptions, which have been preserved to us more fully than those of most of the other kings of Assyria and Babylon, show him to have been a ruler of universal activity and versatile talents. While his uninterrupted campaigns and their almost unbroken series of triumphs attest his military genius, the vast remains of his palaces bear witness to his architectural taste and enterprise.

§ 360. From the beginning of his reign he was kept busy by hereditary foes, revolted provinces, and rebellious vassals. His first achievement, if such it may be called, was the capture of Samaria.[1] It is difficult to get an absolutely accurate notion of the data that define the conclusion of this memorable siege. The following conjectural outline is perhaps most accordant with the ascertained facts. The siege, now well on in its third year, was brought nearly to its close by the Assyrian generals, in the absence of Shalmaneser, who, whether on account of declining health or the business of state, was, during the latter part of 722, at home in his capital. The blockade was maintained vigorously throughout; the news of the death of Shalmaneser, and of the inauguration of an entirely new régime, made no difference in the loyalty or

[1] See Note 16 in Appendix.

the energy of the commanders. It is quite possible, indeed, that the surrender took place in the absence of the new king also. Sargon claims the conquest for himself; but we know that the Assyrian rulers did not always give due credit to their lieutenants for the successes gained by the latter. At any rate, it is extremely doubtful whether the new monarch could conveniently arrive at the seat of the war in Palestine within the limits of time indicated in his own record of the event; for he intimates that the capture took place between the end of December, 722, and the spring solstice of 721. Since Sargon came to the throne immediately upon the death of Shalmaneser, it is most proper to assume that both of them were in or near the capital at the time. The supposition that Shalmaneser died before Samaria, and that Sargon, as commander of the army of occupation, was chosen to the succession by the generals, may be dismissed as out of accord with the peaceful character of the accession; and still less explicable would the same state of things be, on the assumption that either of them was at the capital and the other before Samaria. Now, Sargon tells us that it was in "the beginning" of his reign that he took Samaria. This was the technical term for the period between the accession of an Assyrian monarch and the beginning of the next statutory year, or the spring equinox. Under any circumstances, and especially as the founder of a new dynasty in an unsettled empire, it must have been necessary for Sargon to remain some little time at Nineveh for the settlement of business. Hence we conclude that the capitulation of Samaria took place without the direct interference of King Sargon, whatever part he may possibly have taken in the conduct of the war at an earlier stage.

§ 361. In the subsequent fate of Samaria, Sargon's was certainly the directing mind. With the fall of the capital the territory of Ephraim now followed the rest of the old Northern Kingdom and became an Assyrian province. Its history, so important to Bible students, so interesting,

and yet so greatly misconceived, can only be understood when it is remembered that the country was administered wholly as a part of the Assyrian empire and in accordance with its well-settled policy. Both the Biblical statements and those of Sargon himself have to be read in the light of what we have learned as to the relations of the subject states to the central authority (§ 285 ff.). And it is to be particularly observed that the treatment accorded to Samaria, as we find it detailed in these records, was the carrying out of a *system*, and was not worked out in a month or a year. It extended over nearly a century (Ezra iv. 10), and is one of the best extant illustrations of the policy of denationalization, repression, and assimilation, persistently carried out towards the subject peoples by the rulers of the New Empire, till Assyria attained the summit of its power and the limits of its capacity of cohesion and government. Our two sources of information may be collated as follows. The Inscriptions tell us of the spoiling of Samaria and of the deportation of a certain portion of its inhabitants. The Hebrew records give the destination of the exiled Samarians, and tell particularly of the colonizing of the old Israelitish territory, the origin of the new occupants, their character, and their fortunes in the strange land of the strange God. In short, they sketch the history of the new settlement, and give us the best picture that we have of the conditions developed by the commingling of races with diverse religious and social and political antecedents, under the old Semitic régime in Western Asia. The picture may also serve as a type of numberless other instances of the forced agglutination of incompatible elements, devised and effected in the vain hope of levelling to one uniform quiescent community the host of nationalities that were to be made the subjects of Asshur.

§ 362. The city was entered by the Assyrian troops early in 721, according to our reckoning. It was held by them till Sargon was in a position to dispose of its affairs.

Meanwhile, an examination was held into the state of the city, the character and extent of its possessions, and of the property that had been stored by the people of the outlying towns, who had taken refuge within the walls. The responsibility for the insurrection and conspiracy was fixed upon certain of the leaders and their followers. Sargon decreed that these, to the number of 27,290, including their families, should be deported. He does not mention the regions to which they were transferred; but this is supplied in the Biblical narrative, which informs us that "in the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and Habor the river of Gozan, and the cities of Media" (2 K. xvii. 6; cf. xviii. 11). This points to at least two, or, in all probability, three bands or groups of exiles. The first indicated was perhaps sent to Kasshite territory east of the Tigris; the second was destined for the banks of the chief tributary of the Euphrates, half-way between Charran and Nineveh; and the third was transported to the far eastern provinces of the empire, whose subjection offered as serious difficulties to the Assyrian kings as did the West-land itself. These separate deportations were evidently rather episodes in the administration of the subjugated territory than punishments inflicted all at once upon the rebellious inhabitants. In fact, the distribution of the third detachment of exiles could not have been effected till six years after the surrender, since it was only then that Sargon came into possession of Median territory, the conquests of Tiglathpileser III in that rugged region of stubborn mountaineers not having been permanent (§ 311).

§ 363. It may be remarked in passing, that this is the whole story of the famous "Dispersion of the Ten Tribes." Our narrative has already shown, at several stages, how, little by little, the Ten Tribes came to lose their original autonomy, and how, even in their own land, several of them became gradually extinguished. Now, besides the

partial deportation of the northern communities by Tiglath-pileser III (§ 332), these successive transplantings are the only ones we know of. We see, therefore, what the problem of accounting for the "Lost Tribes" amounts to. The number of the expelled peoples given by Sargon doubtless includes all that were sent away during his reign, and this comprised but a small portion of the inhabitants, even of the reduced Samarian territory. Twenty years later, more than seven times this number were carried away from Judah, without destroying the integrity of the kingdom. To preclude any further temptation to search for these mythical wanderers, it is worth while pointing out that this comparatively small number speedily lost its identity, by being absorbed in the new populations to which it was introduced. Those who were transported to Media disappeared in a generation or two, scattered as they were in small companies, among utterly alien peoples, themselves in a state of rapid transformation by reason of the influx of Iranians from Central Asia. And even those who were settled near the River Habor, living as they did among the kindred Aramæan race, would, by reason of their kinship, be readily assimilated to their social and religious environment, and so lose their corporate, as well as racial, identity.

§ 364. Attention has been particularly fixed upon Samaria, mainly because of its importance in the history of Revelation. But the general political significance of its downfall and capture is also by no means to be underrated. As the strongest fortress near the valley of Megiddo, the great highway of caravans and armies, and as the historic centre of a populous and fertile country, its possession must have been of great consequence to the empire of the Tigris.[1] This explains the care which the kings of Assyria henceforth took to have it occupied by a docile and loyal

[1] The remark of Winckler (*Sargontexte*, p. xvi), that the city and its siege were of comparatively little importance, is hardly borne out by later history, or even by Sargon's own inscriptions.

population. So it happened that, while Sargon's policy aimed at the disintegration and effacement of the conquered nationality, his measures here were the very reverse of harsh, at least as compared with those adopted by him in other recorded instances, and with the customary procedure of the Assyrians with regard to rebellious vassals. He purposely granted the remnant of Israel exceptional immunities. He contented himself with appropriating to his own military service fifty war chariots; and those of the people who were not sent abroad were left undisturbed in the possession of their goods. Indeed, so far was the conquest from obliterating the national life, that less than two years later a section at least of the old kingdom was found assisting a neighbouring state in a revolt against the common oppressor. If the design of the Great King, in thus extending unaccustomed clemency towards the Samarians, was to cultivate a friendly feeling among the inhabitants of Palestine, and, at the same time, to retain possession of the redoubtable fortress at as little cost as possible, it is evident that his measures did not meet at once with entire success.

APPENDIX

NOTE 1 (§ 19)

GROUPING OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

THE following classification of the Semitic languages and principal dialects may be of interest in connection with the ethnological grouping given in the text.

A. North-Semitic.

I. BABYLONIAN (Assyrian).

II. ARAMAIC.

a. East-Aramaic.

1. Classical Syriac (Northern Mesopotamia).
2. Mandaite (Lower Babylonia).
3. Babylonian Talmudic.
4. "Modern Syriac" (Upper Tigris region, Kurdistan, Urmia).

b. West-Aramaic.

1. Biblical Aramaic.
2. Targumic.
3. Samaritan.
4. Nabatæan (inscriptional).
5. Palmyrene (inscriptional).

III. CANAANITIC.

a. Hebraic (Hebrew, Moabite, etc.).

b. Phœnician.

B. South-Semitic.

I. SABÆAN (Himyaritic).

II. ETHIOPIC (with modern Tigré, Amharic, etc.).

III. ARABIC.

NOTE 2 (§ 36)

MĀLIK AND MALK

THE longer (participial) form has also been preserved in the name of the North-Semitic god, Assyr. *Mālik*, Canaanitic *Mōlek* (not "Moloch"); that is, apparently, the god-chief. The word is precisely the same as that of the Aramæan Nestorian dignitary (hence the Armenio-Russian name *Melikoff*), so that both the longer and the shorter forms are preserved in the three great North-Semitic families. Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, i, 187 ff.) and Socin (Encycl. Brit. vol. xvii, p. 357) give a wrong pronunciation (*melek*, *melik*). The *ā* in the word is long, and has the sound of *a* in *father*, as I have repeatedly verified it from the lips of native Nestorians. Layard is also wrong in restricting the term and the office to the chiefs of Tiyāri, as it occurs among all the Nestorian districts under Turkish rule. The natives clearly distinguish between *malk* and *mālik*, the former being "the Sultan of Stamboul." Socin is also in error in making, without qualification, the office hereditary. That principle is certainly recognized, but the clinging to primitive customs is so strong that, as I have been assured, a good man is chosen from the people, mainly on the recommendation of the bishop, when the son or sons of a deceased *mālik* are in any way objectionable.

NOTE 3 (§ 42)

PHŒNICIAN COLONIZATION

IT is not known even approximately where the first Phœnician city was founded, or when Phœnician commerce began. Whoever took the Babylonians over to Cyprus must have started from the opposite coastland, and as we have no reason to suppose that the Phœnicians did not begin the commerce with which the world has associated their name, it may be assumed in the meanwhile that they were the carriers. This would make their maritime enterprises to have begun not later than about 4000 B.C. (§ 90, 97). For a long time Sidon was the

leading city-state, as it was presumably the first of all the settlements between the Cilician coast and Mount Carmel to attain to wealth and an extensive commerce. Hence the usage of the name Sidonians for the Phœnicians as a whole in the Old Testament (Jud. xviii. 7, 28; Deut. iii. 9; 1 K. v. 20, xvi. 31), and among the ancients generally. The earliest foreign settlements were naturally made in Cyprus. Indeed, the Old Testament usage of כִּתִּים (*i.e.* Kition, the nearest port in the island) for the maritime settlements of the Mediterranean is of itself a proof of the immemorial association of the first colony of Phœnicia with the commerce of the great West. From Cyprus, the most momentous voyages of antiquity were made to Rhodes and beyond (by at least the fifteenth century B.C.) through the Ægean. Thus trading-stations were erected, and the germs of Semitic civilization deposited among the islands and along the coasts of Greece. That they had factories on the Grecian mainland there can be no doubt whatever, difficult and usually impossible though it may be to follow accurately in their tracks or to detect their long-vanished traces (cf. Meyer, GA. § 192). From these they were expelled by the Greeks themselves, whom they had taught the sea-faring art, and who came to far surpass their masters in the business of piracy, and to equal them in kidnapping and slave-dealing, if not in the soberer methods of legitimate commerce. Their later and more enduring settlements in North Africa and Southern Spain lie in the beaten paths of history. No other of the ancient authorities has given such precise details of the range and objects of Phœnician trade as the Hebrew Ezekiel (ch. xxvii.). A partial notion of the enterprise of the Phœnicians, and of their importance in the development of civilization as well as to their contemporaries, may be gained by calling to mind the uses of the alloy bronze in ancient times, and the fact that the business of furnishing copper and tin, wherever these were mined (often hundreds of miles apart), was almost entirely in the hands of the Phœnicians. A kindred reflection is suggested by the economic phenomenon of the interchange in commercial value of gold and silver, the depreciation of the latter having been brought about through the abundance and wide circulation of the products of the

mines of Southern Spain; the elaboration of the ores, and the transportation of the bullion to the money markets of the East, being for centuries in the hands of the Phœnicians.

NOTE 4 (§ 131)

AMORITE AND CANAANITE

WELLHAUSEN, in *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, xxi, 602, (= *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 133 f.), asserts that "Amorites" was the designation of the primitive population of Palestine in the Elohist (E) and in Amos. Steinthal (*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, xii, 267) has also arrived at the conclusion that Amorites and Canaanites were identical. The most elaborate presentation of the same view has been made by Ed. Meyer in ZATW. I, 121–127, who has been approved by W. Robertson Smith in his *Prophets*, p. 26, and by Stade, GVI. p. 110. Kittel (GH. p. 20 f.), while agreeing with Meyer and the others as to the usage in the case, is not convinced that the names correspond exactly to the same things. I shall state the main positions of Meyer, so that the subject may be fairly grasped by the reader.

The general statement is "that the ethnical name 'Amorite' belongs exclusively to the Elohist, and the name Canaanite exclusively to the Jehovist. The two names are absolutely equivalent in import and range, and designate the total pre-Israelitish population of Palestine." The first argument is based upon the alleged authorship and usage of the Book of Joshua. According to Meyer, this work, with the exception of a few interpolations, "proceeds entirely from the Elohist, and nothing but 'Amorite' is used here as the name of the inhabitants" (p. 122). Against this it may be said, that while the word Amorite occurs 18 times in Joshua, the word Canaanite occurs 16 times, apart from the use of the word Canaan; that the greater portion of Joshua is by most modern critics assigned to the Elohist *and* Jehovist (JE), and that it is impossible to separate the twofold contribution, except in a very few cases (cf. Driver, *Intr.* p. 97); that, for example, while Kautzsch and Socin assign 33 verses out of the whole (viii. 3–29;

xv. 14–19) to J alone, they attribute, outside of ch. xxiv., but 19 verses to E apart from J, and of these only two (i. 1 f.) to E independently (Kautzsch, etc. ATU). Finally, Meyer omits from his list of citations from Joshua, ch. iii. 10; v. 1; vii. 7, 9; xvi. 10; xvii. 12, 13, 16, 18, in all nine cases.

Again, Meyer appeals to the character and usage of Deuteronomy, claiming that the book is throughout of Elohistic character, and that in it the use of Amorite, as opposed to Canaanite, is almost exclusive of the latter. The case here is more plausible than with Joshua. The preponderance of "Amorite" is undeniable (15 cases against 4), and the only question is whether the usage is justified by a real distinction between the races. The difficulty diminishes when it is observed that, in all the cases except 3 (i. 7; vii. 1; xx. 17), reference is distinctly made to the "Amorites" east of Jordan, where no Canaanites are ever located by any Biblical writer! It is, therefore, unnecessary for the argument to have it decided whether Meyer is right in thinking that Deuteronomy is almost wholly Elohistic.

More weight must be attached to the assertion that the Jehovist uses the name Canaanite to the exclusion of Amorite. At least, this appears to be true of certain passages in Genesis and Exodus, which critics generally agree in assigning to J independently of E (JE) or of P or of the Deuteronomist. The number of such cases is indeed very small, and the most that can be affirmed is that a certain usage is found in the books in question, according to which the people west of the Jordan are referred to as Canaanites, and not as Amorites. Whether this can be accounted for on the supposition that the name Canaanite is given as to inhabitants of "Canaan" is an open question. It must be admitted to be peculiar that there is a combination, in three cases, of Canaanites and Perizzites alone (Gen. xiii. 7; xxxiv. 30; Jud. i. 4 f.). It is further contended by Meyer and Wellhausen, as a consequence of the above conclusion, that "Amorite" (E) is a term peculiar to the Northern Kingdom. In support of this is cited the fact that Amos (ii. 9) uses the term Amorite. But the usage of Amos would prove the contrary if it proved anything, since he was of *Judaic* birth, education, and permanent residence, and it can hardly be sup-

posed that to be intelligible to his northern constituency of unwilling hearers he needed to use the terminology of their ethnographical school as against that of his own!

NOTE 5 (§ 201)

ARAMÆANS AND LATER HETTITES IN SYRIA

IT is usually believed (cf. Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr., ii, 302) that the Aramæans had not only formed their settlements in Southern Syria before the Israelitish occupation of Canaan, but that they had also planted colonies in Canaan itself. The name of a locality, Hadad-Rimmon (Zech. xii. 11), in the plain of Megiddo, is referred to as proof of this, the word being wholly Aramæan. But it occurs only once, and that in a very late author, while the facts about the naming of the place are wholly unknown. It is, indeed, conceivable that, in the times of Benhadad II, or Hazael, a trading-station was established in this rich exporting region (cf. 1 K. xx. 34), and then held as a Syrian town during the predominance of Damascus. We have, I think, a confirmation of the view that the Aramaic settlements in Syria were formed not very long before the eleventh century B.C., in the fact that the bond between them and their kindred beyond the River was so close in the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 3, explained by x. 16). No Semitic states, even when bound by kinship, remained long in disinterested federation (§ 54). A parallel is furnished by the Hettite confederation (§ 163; cf. 157), if it may so be called. On the Assyrian limitations of the Aramæan settlements westward, see Par. 257 f. It must not, however, be inferred from the testimony of the cuneiform records that Aramæans were not to be found west of the Euphrates until a comparatively late date. In the text I have purposely restricted the later occupation to permanent settlements, such as those of Hamath and Damascus.

As to the later usage of the term "Hettites" in the Old Testament, it cannot be too distinctly affirmed that there were no *independent* Hettite communities in Southern and Central Syria from the time of David onward. The popular works written about this people are here entirely misleading. In

Jud. i. 26, the word has exactly the same general application as the Assyrian usage referred to in the text. In 2 K. vii. 6 (cf. § 236) the historical conditions make it perfectly clear that it could only have been the Hettites of the north who are meant. Besides, there is a suspicious combination with מצרים here, which may perhaps confirm the whole matter beyond a doubt. In 1 K. x. 28 מצרים is associated with the land of Ḳue (see § 230), and in v. 29 it is apparently included among the Hettite communities. Hommel (GBA. p. 610, n. 3) has suggested that the word be here read *Muṣrīm* and not referred to the Egyptians at all, but to the *Muṣrē*, who are frequently alluded to in the inscriptions as living in a country near the borders of North Syria and Cappadocia (see esp. KGF. p. 254 ff.). In the extract from Shalmaneser II, given in § 228, this country is named next to Ḳue. The coincidence with the Biblical passage is certainly remarkable. But in 2 K. vii. 6 the combination of Hettites and מצרים occurs again. Now the Hettites had no association with the Egyptians in the minds of the Hebrews, and it is absurd to suppose that the Syrians before Samaria could expect a simultaneous attack from armies of these widely separated peoples. The north, on the other hand, was always the place whence sudden overwhelming invasions came upon Syria and Palestine. The Hettites here would thence have come undoubtedly from Northern Syria or beyond, along with their natural neighbours and allies, and presumable kindred. The remaining passage, 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 (Sept. "the Hettites of Kadesh"), is a reminiscence of the people who once gave importance to the famous stronghold on the Orontes. With reference to the *Muṣrē*, I would add that the Μισραῖος of the Greek inscription mentioned by Sachau in his article "Bemerkungen zu cilicischen Eigennamen" (ZA. VII. 100), refers to them and not to the Egyptians, as the author supposes.

NOTE 6 (§ 216)

BASIS OF CHRONOLOGY

It is well known that the chronology of the kingdom of Israel, from the reign of Jeroboam II to the taking of Samaria,

as inferred from the numbers found in the current text of the Bible, is in a very uncertain state, and that various expedients have been resorted to in order to make it agree with the chronology of the kings of Judah. This is not the place for a minute comparison with the chronological data of the Assyrians, but it may be remarked in general that the system of the latter is more special and precise. It was not the custom of the Bible writers, especially the earlier ones, to record events with a strict notation of the time of their occurrence. Among the Assyrians there were three great classes of public records, in which every occurrence was carefully dated: first, the so-called Eponym lists, to be presently described; second, records of the events of each reign, written in chronological order; and, third, business documents, regularly dated. Again, it is to be noted that the numbers of the current Hebrew text have sometimes proved to be mutually inconsistent. Accepting these facts as established without further discussion, it is an inestimable advantage that we have a means of checking and supplementing these confessedly inadequate data, in the indications furnished for many leading events in the cuneiform records. According to the Assyrian system, each year was indicated by the name of its eponym (*līmu* = archon, magistrate), and lists of these were carefully made and kept, of which large fragments have been preserved. We can thus make up a complete series for the time 893–666 B.C., as well as for shorter periods before and after. Some copies contain also statements of the most important events in the respective years, and note the changes in the succession of kings. These eponyms are referred to in the royal annals very frequently, and in business documents regularly. Their accuracy is now beyond question, as every check applied to them has been satisfactorily met. The chief corroborative system is the famous Canon of Ptolemy, which gives a list of the native kings of Babylonia, beginning with Nabonassar, 747 B.C. The most striking evidence of the correctness of the Assyrian lists is the statement for the eponymic year which would correspond to 763 B.C., that in the month Sivan (= June) of that year an eclipse of the sun was observed in Nineveh, which modern calculations have proved to have been

that of June 15, 763 B.C. This eclipse occurred in the middle of the reign of Jeroboam II, and furnishes the surest basis of Assyrian chronology (cf. § 265).

With reference to the later Old Testament usage, it should be observed that notations were made of certain classes of occurrences. Thus, the relative accession years of the kings of Judah and Israel, from the Schism downwards, were indicated; also other important events, such as the taking of Samaria (2 K. xvii. 6; xviii. 9), the invasion of Sinacherib (2 K. xviii. 13), various incidents connected with the siege and capture of Jerusalem (2 Kings and Jeremiah). The Prophets, also, noted frequently in what years of their ministry, or of the reigning kings, they received their revelations or commissions. But none of these items refer to a regular established system of dating, such as that which the Babylonians and Assyrians employed from very remote times.

NOTE 7 (§ 249)

SEMIRAMIS

THE fame of "Semiramis" may justify an additional remark. Tiele (BAG. p. 212 f.) and Hommel (GAB. p. 631) regard her as having been the mother of Rammān-nirārī, while both agree that she was, in all probability, a Babylonian princess. That she was, in reality, his wife, appears to me to be clear, from the fact that the statue of Nebo was not dedicated till the fifteenth year of the king's reign, and that the new cult must have been introduced much earlier if she had been his mother and had ruled the country as regent till he came to his majority. It is the governor of Kalach who dedicates the statue, and he makes a proclamation in the last line of the inscription which is apparently an inauguration of the worship of Nebo. This function was performed in 798 B.C., according to the Eponym list, when the king must have been, in any case, actual ruler for several years. Finally, the hostile relations with Babylonia, at the beginning of his reign, are unfavourable to the supposition that his mother was a Babylonian princess. The translation of the inscription is as fol-

lows: "To Nebo, the exalted protector, the son of Bīt-elū (§ 112), the wide-eyed, the strenuous, the great, the powerful, the son of Ea, whose command is supreme, the master of the arts, who observes all that is in heaven and earth, the all-knowing one, the widely hearing, the wielder of the writer's reed, the possessor of . . . the gracious, the majestic, with[1] whom are knowledge and divination, the beloved of Bēl, the lord of lords, whose might is unrivalled, without whom no counsel is taken in heaven, the gracious one, to whom it is good to make resort, who dwells in Bīt-kēnu (§ 112) which is in Kalach — to the great lord his lord, for the weal of Rammān-nirārī the king of Assyria his lord, and the weal of Sammurāmat, the lady of the palace his mistress, hath Beltarṣi-iluma, the governor of the provinces of Kalach, Chamedi, Sirgana, Temeni, Yaluna, for the sparing of his own life, for the length of his days, and the . . . of his years, the peace of his household and his kindred, and for freedom from sickness (this statue) made and dedicated. O man of the future! in Nebo trust thou, in any other god do not trust!"

NOTE 8 (§ 280)

PUL AND TIGLATHPILESER

THAT Pul and Tiglathpileser III were the same person is now universally acknowledged. The question was first fully threshed out by Schrader, KGF. p. 422 ff., and KAT.[2] p. 227 ff. It may be of interest to the Biblical student to learn the principal evidences of identity, which are as follows: (1) No king of Assyria is mentioned in the Assyrian state records by the name Pul, though the list of kings is complete for this whole period; hence the ruler mentioned in 2 K. xv. 19 must be identified with one of the monarchs called by another name in the Assyrian annals. (2) At the date of the occurrence related in 2 K. xv. 19, Tiglathpileser was king of Assyria, and there is no record of any rival pretender to the throne, who might be identified with Pul, or who could take the field and

[1] Cf. the Old Testament synonym for familiar knowledge, Ps. l. 11, and often.

march to the West at the head of an army. (3) Tiglathpileser was actually king of Babylon at the time of the reign of the king whose name is recorded variously as Pulu, Phulu, and Poros. If this designation stood for another than Tiglathpileser, the lists would be false or defective. Yet, in the Babylonian Chronicle, not only does Tiglathpileser take the place of Pulu in the list of kings, but his successor is given in the same document as Shalmaneser, the son and follower of Tiglathpileser. It is also a noteworthy illustration of the duality of names, that the same successor is called in the Babylonian king-list Ululai (Elulæus). It seems as though it were not an unusual thing for kings, at their accession, to take the name of some distinguished predecessor as their official designation. See § 251 for an apparent parallel in Damascus.

NOTE 9 (§ 307)

TIGLATHPILESER III AND AZARIAH OF JUDAH

THE identification of Azriya'u of Tiglathpileser's annals with Azariah of Judah has not been always unquestioned. The objections of Von Gutschmid (*Neue Beiträge zur Kunde des Alten Orients*, p. 55 ff.), which were fully dealt with by Schrader in KGF. p. 395–421, of Wellhausen (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, xx. 632), and Klostermann (*Samuel-Könige*, p. 496), dealing as they did with the more obvious difficulties, have not given occasion for serious doubt. More weighty is the position taken by Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 1893, p. 1–23), who identifies the "Ya-u-di" of Tiglathpileser with the region יאדי, which occurs in the inscriptions recently found at Sinjirli in Northern Syria, and which he proves to have formed part of the older kingdom of "Patin" (Chattin). His main plea is that, inasmuch as the references to Azriya'u occur only in connection with Tiglathpileser's operations in Northern Syria, it is necessary to look for the home of that personage in that region; and that it was only the universal ignorance of the existence of a country "Ya-u-di" in the right locality that led scholars to identify it with Judah. Among other arguments, he adduces the fact that the Azriya'u in question is

represented as taking the field in person, which it was impossible for Azariah of Judah, at his advanced age, and with Jotham as the regent, to have done in 738, if indeed he was alive at that date;[1] further, that there was no occasion of Azariah of Judah interfering with Tiglathpileser at this stage, since the latter did not come below Northern Syria in that year; moreover, that the kingdom of Judah was not in a position, under Uzziah, to undertake such an expedition as the current hypothesis involves.

It must be confessed that, at first sight, it seems a bold thing to conceive of the intervention of Judah in the manner and place supposed, and if a king Azriya'u and a country *Ya'udu* or "Yaudi" can be found in Northern or Middle Syria at this era, they must be accepted as fulfilling the historical conditions. But, unfortunately for Winckler's theory, they have not as yet been brought to light. No Azriya'u (= Azariah) has so far been unearthed in those parts; and to claim that *Ya'udu*, or "Yaudi" is the same as יאדי[2] (which Sachau impartially transcribes *Ya'di*), is to assume too much, however plausible the combination may be. At best this יאדי was a petty state, a fragment of a kingdom, itself never very important, and it is hardly conceivable that "nineteen districts belonging to Hamath," some of which were of considerable significance, looked to it for protection. On the other hand, we have the name Azariah and the name Judah written precisely as one would expect them to appear in an Assyrian document, while King Azariah is known to have been living and reigning over Judah at least till within a very few years of the date in question. That he was, moreover, in a position to take just such action as is indicated in the cuneiform record, has been sufficiently demonstrated in the text of

[1] Little weight need be attached to this consideration. We need not suppose that Azriya'u (whoever he was) took the field in person at all. Oriental kings universally upheld for themselves the principle, *qui facit per alium facit per se.*

[2] Stress is laid upon the ending *i* in Ya-u-di, as agreeing with the form in the Sinjirli inscription; but that is, apparently, a genitive termination, and the ending is, in any case, of so little consequence that in the previous line the adjectival form is written *Ya-u-da-ā.*

the present work. That Hamath, which was, after all, the state chiefly concerned, was closely related to both Israel and Judah, is clear from 2 K. xiv. 28, whatever may be the true restoration of the text (cf. LXX), and besides from the significant fact that a prince of Hamath in 720 bore the significant name of *Ya'u-bi'di*, an appellation which of course does not necessarily imply that Jehovah was the object of a worship indigenous in Hamath, but only that the cult had been accepted there along with the protectorate or yoke of Israel or Judah.[1]

On the whole, in spite of Winckler's very ingenious constructions, it seems best to adhere in the meantime to the generally accepted opinion.

NOTE 10 (§ 314)

"KING YAREB"

THE word יָרֵב, Yārēb, would be naturally explained in Hos. v. 13 as a proper name, but we know of no Assyrian monarch with a name at all similar. It is better, then, to take the word as an appellative, though even so it is not easy to settle the meaning. To explain it as a descriptive imperfect of ריב, "to contend, quarrel," would give a tolerable though not the best sense: it was the settled policy of others than the Assyrian rulers to pick quarrels. But the vowel pointing of the word, as well as the rareness of the construction outside of poetry, stand in the way of this explanation. The best sense of all is, I think, to be gained by explaining the word as a participial adjective of a familiar Aramaic stem, meaning "to be great." Aramaic being now the ordinary medium of international intercourse, it was natural that that language should furnish the designation of the "Great King" that was

[1] Winckler (*l.c.* p. 16) endeavours to use this name of a Hamathæan prince as an argument in favour of the legitimate occurrence of *Ya'u* in Azriya'u as the name of a North-Syrian ruler. But what evidence have we of close relations between Israel and Northern Syria? By the way, when Winckler (p. 3, 21), makes out "Patin" to have been the Biblical Paddan-Aram, he forgets that Gen. xxxi. 21 tells us expressly that the latter district lay on the east of the Euphrates.

current in Western Asia. It is unnecessary to add that this was the favourite title assumed by the Assyrian monarchs themselves.

Sayce (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, i, 162 ff.; *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, ii, 18 ff.) holds that יָרֵב was the original name of Sargon, in whose reign he thinks the latter portion of the Book of Hosea was composed. This theory, though regarded as "proved" by Neubauer (ZA. III, 103), and looked upon with favour by Hommel (GBA. 680), is disproved by two fatal objections. The Hebrews would, of course, write an Assyrian name according to the impression it made upon the ear (hence, for example, *s* instead of *š*, in such proper names as *Sargon, Asnappar*). But the Assyrians and Babylonians neither wrote nor pronounced *y* at the beginning of any native word, and the Hebrew equivalent would have begun with א. Again, the composition of such a work as that of Hosea during the reign of Sargon was impossible. When Sargon came to the throne, Samaria was just on the point of surrender (§ 357 f.), the whole work of reduction having been already accomplished by Shalmaneser IV. At his accession, the negotiations with Egypt, referred to by Hosea, were long past. Nor could Sargon have been referred to by the Prophet as an heir apparent or rising general, for the personage in question is expressly designated as the reigning monarch.

NOTE 11 (§ 315)

DATE OF ZECH. IX.–XI.

IT seems impossible to find any other period in the history of the Western country, when all the conditions offered in these three chapters were fulfilled. Where otherwise, for example, was it possible to couple Hadrach (see § 258, 307), whose fate is commemorated by Tiglathpileser alone, with Gaza, which likewise was the victim of his vengeance? When again, contemporaneously, or nearly so, with these events, was Gilead overrun by foreign troops and lost to Israel? The reference to the Ionians (ix. 13) in this age is not surprising, when Hosea (xi. 10) makes a not obscure allusion to the captives who had been transported beyond the western seas, not to

mention Joel (iv. 4–6), of disputed date, who refers to similar conditions. That the Northern Kingdom was still in existence, and Assyria still in its "pride" (x. 10 f.), is intimated as plainly as anything else in Prophecy.

NOTE 12 (§ 327)

THE SIGN "IMMANUEL"

It is with the utmost diffidence that, at this advanced stage of inquiry, I offer an observation upon the meaning of this much-explained passage. The first point that naturally comes up is the question of the parentage of the original "sign" and type. From the point of view of language and grammar, the tenable opinions are reducible to two: the article before עלמה either points out the particular young woman of the time who was to become the mother of Immanuel, or it simply designates some one of a class, not further to be defined or to be understood as definitely meant; that is, some young woman soon to become a mother would bear a child to be named "God is with us." The latter view is quite tenable according to Hebrew usage (cf. especially Gen. xiv. 13; xviii. 7; Num. xi. 27; 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xv. 13; xvii. 17; 1 K. xx. 36). The question is, does the context favour it? It is hard to think so, because the indefiniteness of the parent would involve the indefiniteness of the child also, and if he could not be identified in his childhood the prediction would lose all its significance; in other words, the sign could not be verified. It is self-evident that the name of the child is mentioned not merely on account of its signification, but also for the purposes of later identification. The mother is at least defined in so far as she was to bear the promised child. But we must conclude from Micah v. 3–5, and especially from the utterances as to a child ruler and deliverer made by Isaiah himself (chs. ix., xi.) that a Saviour was to appear for Israel, and to be born of the royal house of David (ch. xi. 1). If "Immanuel" answers at all to such a child, his mother would belong to that house, and may be presumed to have been the wife of one of the princes. Naturally, we think of the wife of Ahaz, because the deliverer

was to be the ruler of the country (ch. ix. 6 f.), and no one would have dreamed of a dethronement of the legitimate heir in Judah, least of all the conservative Prophet. Is there any evidence of this in the context? Just one expression, whatever it may amount to, the word קראת which nearly all the interpreters translate "she shall call," but which the LXX renders much more naturally, "thou shalt call." Why the latter explanation of the word has been so generally ignored, I do not know. There is as much reason for translating the same consonants by the third feminine in Gen. xvii. 19, a passage precisely analogous to our own, where all authorities agree in holding the second masculine to have been meant. If it was so obvious in the passage in Genesis that this was the meaning, why should the writer in our passage have chosen precisely the same form if he intended the third feminine, especially when the archaic form, with the ending ת, is very rarely used for this person? Such ambiguity, when the chances were in favour of a misunderstanding, on account of the form being the regular one for the second person, is unthinkable. It could only have been done if it had been clear that the speaker was *not* addressing Ahaz. But it appears plainly from v. 17 that, in the particular application of the prediction, Ahaz was singled out as the head and representative of the "house of David," which was formally arraigned at the opening of the discourse. It seems altogether probable, then, that Ahaz was addressed as the namer and father of the coming child. In harmony with ch. ix., it is further to be assumed that it was the heir to the throne that was heralded as the future deliverer, and this view is confirmed by the use of the term עלמה, which would naturally be applied to a young wife, especially to one who had not as yet borne children. We are pointed then, it would seem, for the primary reference, to Hezekiah, presumably the eldest son of Ahaz.

But can the chronology be made to suit this interpretation? Not according to the common view of the date of Hezekiah's birth. Cheyne, for example, says (note in Commentary to ch. vii. 14): "The theory that Immanuel = Hezekiah was long ago disproved by the remark of Jerome, that Hezekiah must have been at least nine years old when the prophecy was

delivered (comp. 2 K. xvi. 2; xviii. 2)." The former of these passages cited tells us that Ahaz was twenty years old when he began to reign, and that he reigned sixteen years. Assuming this notation to be correct, how old would Ahaz have been at the birth of Hezekiah, if the latter were nine years of age in 735? As we have seen (§ 269), Ahaz could not have begun his reign before 736, and if Hezekiah was then eight years old the father could not have been older than twelve at the birth of the son! The other passage tells us that Hezekiah was twenty-five when he began his reign. If the statement about Ahaz is correct, then he would still have been only eleven or twelve at the birth of Hezekiah. But it is evident on all grounds, that the age of Hezekiah at his accession must be shortened considerably from twenty-five. Even if he came to the throne in 715 or 714, his age must still be less than twenty-five to make it agree with ch. xvi. 2. If we take off five or six years we would make his birth-year 734 or 733, which would suit the terms of the prophecy before us, and would also make Ahaz to have been twenty-two or twenty-three at the date of his birth. I am now only concerned to prove that the correction which has to be made in one or the other of the numerical statements in Kings makes it not impossible that, as far as date is concerned, Hezekiah is not excluded as the primary child of the prophecy. Finally, if it be said that, historically, Hezekiah did not fulfil the predictions, it is to be replied that he did so more than any one else that we know of.

A note should be added as to the significance of the name "Immanuel." It is naturally objected that Hezekiah is never elsewhere called by this name. That is true, but we have also to account for the remarkable phenomenon that the name never reappears as the designation of the expected Messiah till New-Testament times. This fact can only be explained on the hypothesis that the intended application of the name in Old-Testament history was only temporary. As the most expressive of the names employed in the Old Testament to designate a God-appointed deliverer, it was applied by Matthew to Jesus, but the significance of the idea of the Messiah could not be exhausted by any one name; and, as a matter of fact, we find other appellations immediately applied (ch. ix. 5).

We must not forget that, among the Hebrews, naming was not putting on a label, as it is with us, but affixing a description or characterization.

It is even doubtful whether "Immanuel" occurs more than once as a proper name. In ch. viii. 8, we have only Jewish tradition, which is notoriously unsafe in Messianic passages, in favour of such a rendering. Is it not much more in harmony with the context to begin a new section with the phrase, "God is with us," so that its later (and last) occurrence, v. 10, is a rhetorical reaffirmation of the promise of divine succour? The preceding words "in thy land" would then have been addressed to the Prophet himself, as, in fact, we would expect them to have been, from the direct statement of v. 5. The new paragraph would accordingly begin thus: "God is with us! Know it [Sept.] all ye peoples! Know it, and give ear all ye of far countries," etc.

NOTE 13 (§ 331 f.)

TIGLATHPILESER III IN PALESTINE

THE principal sources for this expedition are III R. 10 Nr. 2, (annalistic), and II R. 67, 53–63 (synoptical). These are very seriously mutilated, but what remains is of the greatest importance, as the names cited in the text at once indicate. Besides these are certain small fragments published by Layard, Inscr. Pl. 29, 66, 72 f.

The principal dates are fixed by the notices of the Eponym lists, which run as follows: 735, to the land of Ararat; 734, to the land of Philistia; 733, to the land of Damascus; 732, to the land of Damascus.

The order of events followed in the text is determined by III R. 10, Nr. 2, along with Lay. 66. I give a translation of the passage in the annalistic inscription (III R. 10, Nr. 2), which narrates the first stage of the operations. In line 17 I use an important correction of Rost ("they overthrew").

"(6) The city Gal—, the city Abil-aḳḳa which lay at the entrance to the country of Omri, (7) the wide [land of Naphta]li throughout its extent, I annexed to the bounds of Assyria.

(8) My military and civil officers I placed over them. Chanūn of the city of Gaza (9) took flight before my weapons of war and fled to the land of Egypt. The city of Gaza (10) I took; his possessions and his gods [I carried off as spoil,] and the image of my sovereignty (11) I erected in his palace. Among the gods of their land I reckoned (12). . . Tribute I laid on them . . . and like a bird (13) [in fear he left his hiding-place and gave himself up (?)]. To his place I restored him. (14) Gold, silver, variegated garments, *Kitū* cloth (15) . . . many . . . I received.

The land of Omri (16) [I conquered; its fighting men I] slew; officers [over it I appointed,] the mass of its people (17) I took prisoner and deported to Assyria. Pekah their king they overthrew, and Hosea (18) to kingship over them I installed. Ten talents of gold and . . . talents of silver as their contribution I received from them and carried it away to Assyria."

Lines 6–8. *Ga-al* can hardly be supplemented to "Gilead," for reasons to be presently adduced. *Abil-aḳḳa* (as the original seems to read) may very well stand for Abel-(beth)-Ma'aḳa, and the filling out of -li to make Naphtali, though a somewhat venturesome proceeding, has at least strong geographical support. On the other hand, it is not impossible that *Ga-al* may represent *Galil*, or Galilee. The determinative "city" placed before it is sometimes used loosely to indicate a country or district, and the word may be intended to designate the western portion of Naphtali. The correspondence with 2 K. xv. 29 would then be close enough. That we are not to look for "Gilead" here is obvious. Tiglathpileser defines the range of the conquest in question by saying that it is at "the entrance of the land of Omri," which Gilead cannot be explained to be. This district, normally designating a region entirely beyond the range of this campaign,—that is, the country east of Jordan and south of Bashan,—if mentioned by Tiglathpileser at all, must have had its place in the narrative of the campaigns against Damascus. Moreover, its mention in the Biblical passage referred to is just as strange, especially when we find it included in the territory of Naphtali, and placed in the list of the conquered localities between Hazor and Galilee. The only solution of the difficulty that seems satisfactory is to assume

that the word was written by mistake for the next word גלי֫ל, which so closely resembles it, and that then, by another oversight of a not uncommon kind, both were allowed to remain. This would imply that Gilead is not really mentioned by any ultimate extant authority as among the acquisitions of the Assyrians at the date in question.

In connection with the revolution in Samaria itself, it should be remarked that Pekah is mentioned in another passage, Lay. 66, 18. There it is said that, in contrast to the habitual usage of the Great King with rebellious states, Samaria alone he spared the fate of being razed to the ground and plundered. He then proceeds to relate his treatment of Pekah, at which point the fragmentary document breaks off.

NOTE 14 (§ 343)

THE NAME "SEVE"

THIS Seve, which the Massoretes have ignorantly read *Sō* (סוֹא), is identical with the Sib'u, *turtan* or lieutenant (here = viceroy), of the king of Egypt, of whom mention is made by Sargon (Khorsabad Inscr. l. 25). It has been generally supposed that he was also the same person as *Sabako*, the subjugator of Lower Egypt. The principal objection to this is the fact that the Assyrian scribes represent the latter name fully as *Šabakū*, and could therefore not have held the two to have been identical. Moreover, the Assyrians would have known much better than to have called Sabako, the supreme ruler, either a general or viceroy. Seve (Sib'u) was therefore apparently one of the princes or petty kings of the Delta, who conducted their intrigues with the approval or, perhaps, at the instigation of his suzerain, Sabako. See the acute remarks of Winckler (UAG. 92 ff.). Winckler introduces an element of confusion by using an imaginary reading Σεβεχ as representing Seve in the LXX. Codex B (Σεγωρ) and Lagarde's Lucian (Αδραμελεχ) have widely divergent readings, but Codex A (Σωα) followed by the Vulgate (*Sua*) shows, by comparison with the Assyrian, absolute agreement with the Massoretic consonants. Winckler is also wrong in identifying סוֹא and

Sib'u with the Σεβιχως of Manetho, who can only be Sabataka, the son and successor of Sabako, the same "Pharaoh" who in 715 proffered homage to Sargon, and in 711 entered into league with the Palestinians against him.

NOTE 15 (§ 358)

SARGON II AND HIS MONUMENTS

THE Babylonian Chronicle runs (i. 29 ff.): "In the fifth year Shalmaneser in the month Ṭebet died. Five years Shalmaneser had borne rule over Akkad and Assyria. In the month Ṭebet on the twelfth day Sargon in Assyria took his seat upon the throne. In Nisan, Merodach-baladan in Babylon took his seat upon the throne." See the text ZA. II, 163.

The name Sargon is the Massoretic or traditional Jewish pronunciation of the current Assyrian *Šarkēn(u)*. The consonants, at least, represent accurately the contemporary Palestinian conception of the sound of the name (cf. סגן, *sāgān* = שׂכן). It is impossible, however, to say at present exactly how the name of the king was pronounced. All the modes of writing it that have come down to us are ideographic, and the *g* in the Hebrew word may confirm the supposition, which is in itself very probable, that "Sargon" is the same name as *Šargāni*, the famous old king of Akkad (§ 89 ff.). The ideographic modes of writing were intended as complimentary epithets of the king, and, in fact, were little better than solemn puns: *Šar-ukīn* means: "The king set in order," and *Šar-kēnu*, "the sure or legitimate king."

Though great merits are to be conceded to Sargon as a leader and ruler, it must be confessed that the picture drawn by Winckler (*Sargontexte*, p. xlv f.) is somewhat overdrawn. There is no proof that he originated any fruitful ideas of state policy, like the great Tiglathpileser, and the fact that he had to spend almost his whole reign in fighting seems to indicate that there was something lacking in his administration of the conquered provinces.

To call Sargon a usurper, as it has been the fashion to do,

is to use a misleading term. Winckler (ST. I, p. xiii), with others, cites in support of this contention, that neither Sargon himself, nor his son Sinacherib, makes mention of his ancestry, and maintains, what is probable enough, that the genealogy found in inscriptions of Esarhaddon, in which descent is claimed from very ancient kings, Bēl-bānū and Adasu, otherwise unknown, is an invention of the court historiographers. All this, however, would only prove that Sargon was not of the kingly line. If Shalmaneser IV, as is most likely, was childless, he would be bound to name some one as his successor, and he may very well have named a distinguished young general like Sargon.

The inscriptions of Sargon are quite extensive. The principal of them contain the annals of his reign up to the fifteenth year. These were inscribed on the walls of his great palace of Khorsabad, and were first published by Botta in his work *Monuments de Ninivé*, 1849 f. vol. iv. There is, besides, a large synoptical inscription of his achievements, written in the same fashion, but not chronologically arranged, also first published in the same work. The chief cylinder inscription (I R. 36) is also synoptical. Other inscriptions of less importance have been found in Nimrud, in the ruins of Nineveh proper, and one even in Cyprus, on the site of the ancient Kition. All the extant inscriptions have been published by H. Winckler in his valuable work, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1889 (the second volume containing the texts alone, autographed by L. Abel). This supersedes all previous editions except that of D. G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Leipzig, 1883, which contains the cylinder and a few minor documents. The annals are much mutilated; the other important ones better preserved. Translations are given by Winckler and Lyon in the works above mentioned, and by Peiser in KB. II, 35 ff. In the earlier years (1862 and onward), Oppert was the chief labourer in editing and translating Sargon's inscriptions. He also contributed the translations in RP. VII, IX.

NOTE 16 (§ 360)

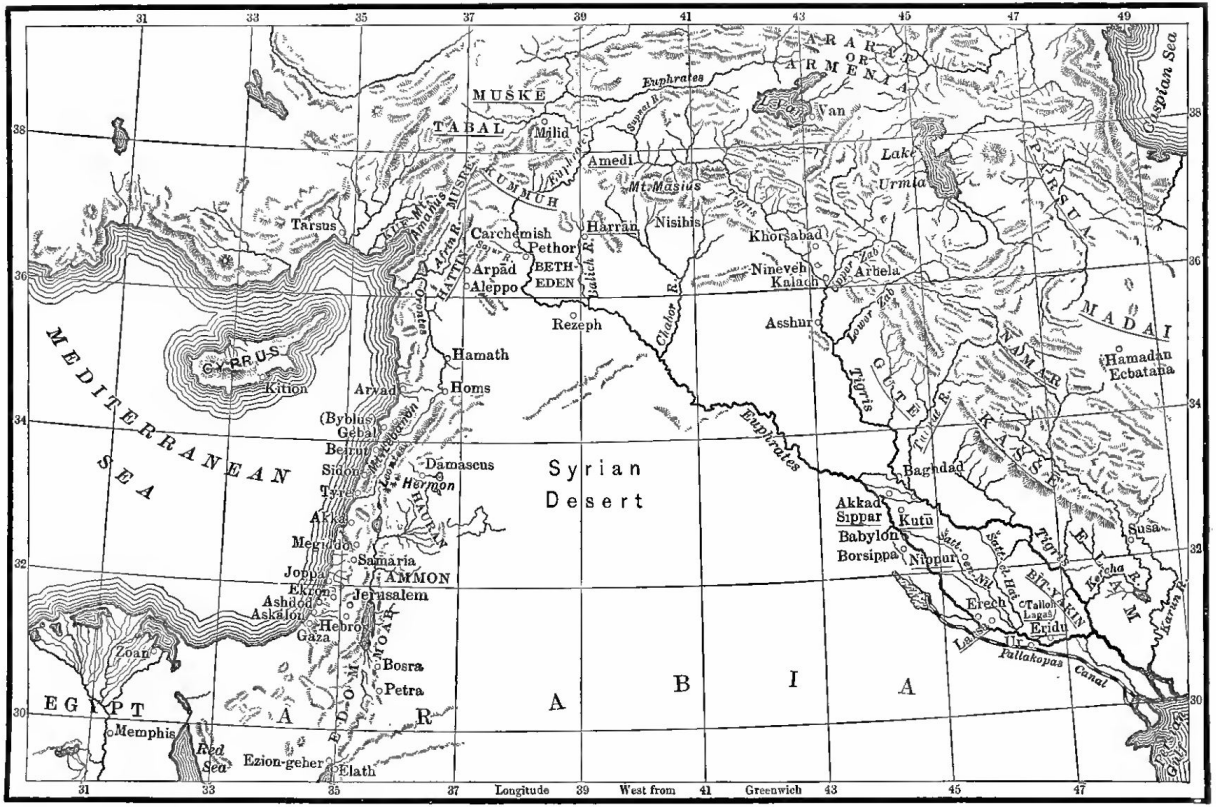
INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO SAMARIA

THE most general reference is that which occurs on one of the doors of the great palace of Khorsabad in one of the summarizing documents with which these doors are inscribed (see Winckler, I, p. x). In the course of a list of Sargon's achievements, we have the statement (Winckler, Pl. 38, l. 31 f.): "The conqueror of the city of Samaria and the whole land of Beth-Omri." In the Cylinder Inscription, l. 19, Sargon calls himself "the subjugator of the broad land of Beth-Omri."

The long summarizing inscription on the walls of the Khorsabad palace (see Winckler, p. x) gives the following account (lines 23–25, Winckler, Pl. 30 f.): "The city Samaria I besieged (and) 27,290 people, inhabiters of it, I took away captive; 50 chariots (which were) in it I appropriated, but the rest (of the people) I allowed to retain their possessions. I appointed my governor over them and the tribute of the late king I imposed upon them."

The report in the Annals is the fullest, but it is unfortunately mutilated. I give a translation of what remains, along with the restorations that seem probable (for the text see Winckler, Pl. 1, 10 ff.): "In the beginning [of my reign] the city Samaria . . . [I took] . . . with the help of Shamash, who secures victory to me [. . . 27,290 people inhabiters of it] I took away captive; 50 chariots the property of my royalty [which were in it I appropriated . . . The city] I restored, and more than before I caused it to be inhabited; people of the lands conquered by my hand in it [I caused to dwell. My governor over them I appointed, and tribute] and imposts, just as upon the Assyrians I laid upon them." Here we have an indication of the clemency of Sargon towards the Samarians and of his desire to have the city repeopled.

END OF VOL. I.



In the accompanying map, the names that are underlined are such as are found only in the Babylonian and Assyrian Monuments, in the forms here presented. Other names are given in their Biblical or classical or modern spelling.